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*Franklin D. Roosevelt*

THIRTY-SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
AND TITULAR LEADER OF DEMOCRACY



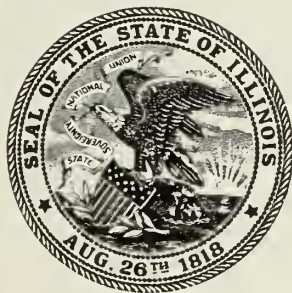
# Illinois Democracy

A HISTORY OF THE PARTY AND ITS REPRESENTATIVE  
MEMBERS—PAST AND PRESENT

WALTER A. TOWNSEND  
AUTHOR

CHARLES BOESCHENSTEIN  
SUPERVISING EDITOR

VOLUME I



ILLUSTRATED

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ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY

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STATE  
FLAG

CENTENNIAL  
BANNER



STATE FLAG AND CENTENNIAL BANNER





## DEDICATION

To Edwards and Bond and Menard and other great Democrats of those pioneer days when Illinois was but a territory!

To Coles and Reynolds and Ewing and other great Democrats of the years when our state still was in its early infancy!

To Douglas and Stevenson and Bryan and other great Democrats whose name and fame are far flung!

To Morrison and Springer and Rainey and numerous other great Democrats of the congressional halls of fame!

To Altgeld and Dunne and Horner and other great Democrats whose services in the executive chair added luster, not only to their party, but to their state!

To Stringer and Alschuler and Jones and Thompson and many other selfless Democrats who have made real sacrifices to carry their party banners forward in the face of well-nigh inevitable defeat!

To those illustrious world statesmen, Lewis and Dieterich, who, today, are helping guide our nation through perilous seas!

To Sullivan and Boeschenstein and Hopkins and Brennan and Donovan and Igoe and Nash and Campbell, without whose genius for leadership the present bright era of victory might not have dawned!

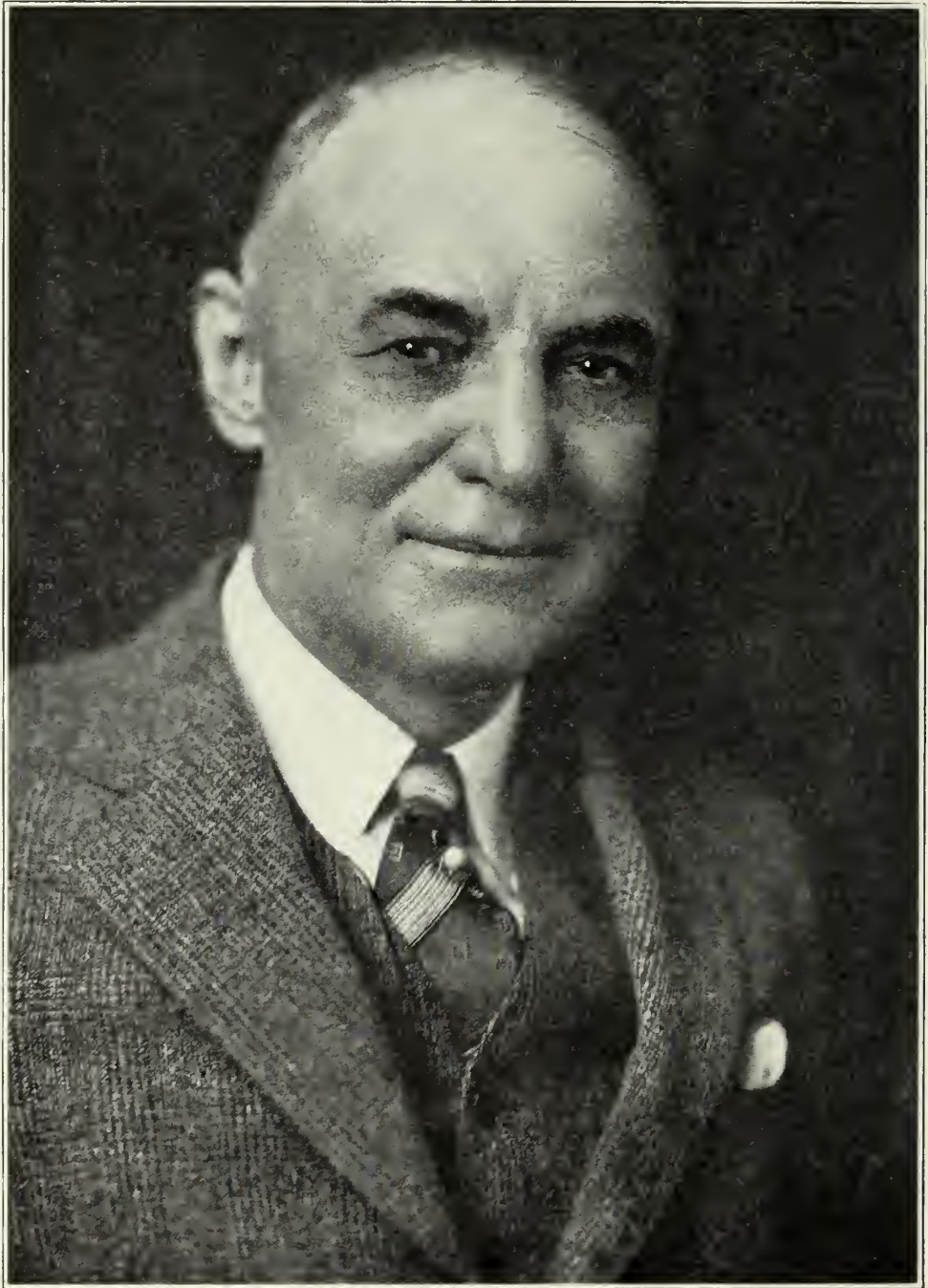
To Harrison the Elder, to Harrison the Younger, to Dever and Cermak and Kelly and other Democrats who have brought added credit to their party by their splendid guidance of the destinies of our greatest city!

To Hughes and Barrett and Martin and Stelle and Kerner and Wieland and Bloch and Courtney and a goodly number of other distinguished Democratic officials who, today, are rendering great service to their party by great service to their state!

To each and all of these this book well and worthily might be dedicated!

But I dedicate it, rather, to the great rank and file of our party—to the men and women, old and young, who, under their faithful leadership, alike through years of hopelessness and years of hope, unyielding, undaunted, and unafraid, have kept the lamps of Democracy burning!

**Walter A. Townsend.**



CHARLES BOESCHENSTEIN

## **A FEW WORDS BY WAY OF PREFACE**

To tell the full story of Illinois Democracy would require many authors and many volumes.

Hence, your author has approached his task in no thought that he may do the impossible, but rather that he may be able to tell you the more important highlights of his party's history in succinct and logical manner, and in language so simple that all may read and understand.

It has been his aim to present a book of interesting facts that you may turn to without being bored, rather than to produce a ponderous tome that might adorn the shelves of a library, yet find but scant place in the intimate reading of the subscriber.

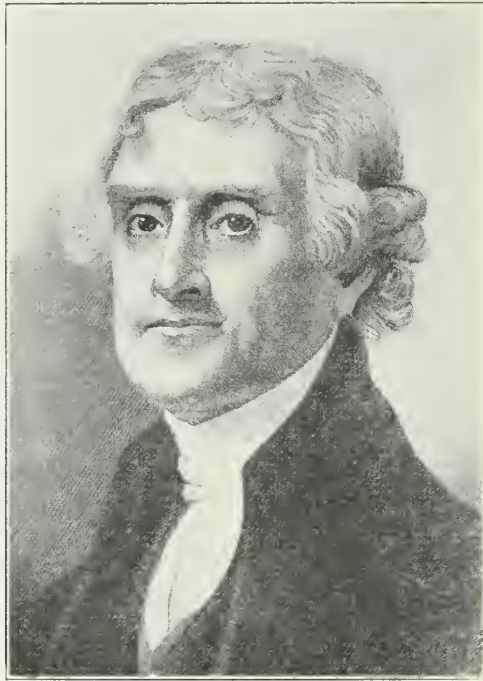
Nevertheless, he has made conscientious endeavor not to sacrifice accuracy to interest, and while, on account of occasional conflicts of dates and statements in the earlier archives of our state and of scant records of some long bygone but important incidents, occasional inaccuracies may occur, he has, in every instance, accepted the version that appeared the most dependable.

The story of Illinois Democracy is a story of notable deeds performed by notable men and women.

If, even in slight degree, in the telling of that story, you may come to larger appreciation and fuller regard for the party that has borne the burden of government during a very considerable part of all the years of our state; if any chapter or any paragraph shall inspire you to larger vision and to larger service, he will count his task well done.

**The Author.**





THOMAS JEFFERSON

## THE DAWN OF NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

The Democratic party is the oldest continuously existing political entity, not only in the United States, but in the whole world.

While it has been said with considerable truth that all popular government had its beginnings in Ancient Greece and that the cradles of world Democracy were in the cities of that classic land, yet no other political organization anywhere on earth has had so long a career as that which we call the Democratic party.

Yet, by one of those peculiar quirks of politics, the Democratic party originally was known as the "Republican party" and it was under the latter title that it had its beginnings as an organized instrumentality and was mostly so called until the time of Andrew Jackson.

But it is to Thomas Jefferson rather than to the Hero of New Orleans that the title "Father of the Democracy" must be given.

---

## BIRTHDAY OF PARTY

The time of birth of the Democratic party, like several other important events of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, has been variously stated. At least three writers have placed it as early as the constitutional convention of 1787.

While, undoubtedly, the seeds of National Democracy had been sown and shown in that gathering, yet the actual birthday of the party may correctly be stated as May 13, 1792, on which date Thomas Jefferson wrote George Washington with authoritative announcement of a new party committed to the principle of "the least possible federal government" as opposed to the then quite prevalent idea, especially espoused by the elder Adams, of "centralization of government so far as possible in federal authority."

While defeated in 1796, it largely was on that issue that Jefferson was elected in 1800 and re-elected four years later.

**CAME WITH FULL FORCE**

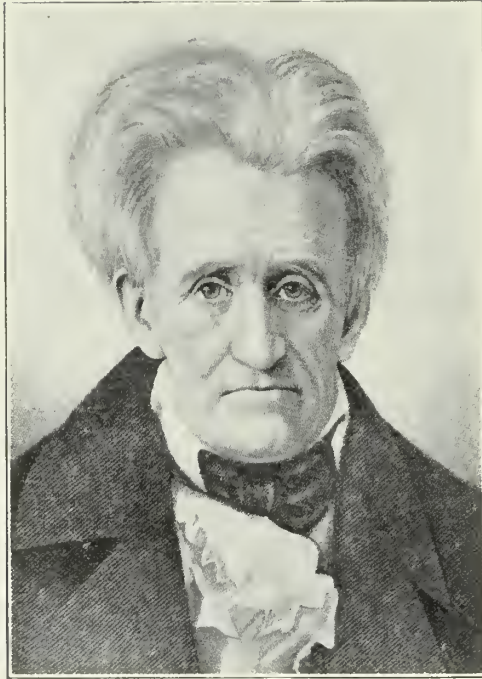
It was not, however, until the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 that the principle which so tersely had been stated by Jefferson in 1792 came with full force.

From the election of Jefferson in 1800 until that of Lincoln in 1860, the Democracy was in control of national affairs, with the exception of the brief period when the first Harrison took the reins, as a representative of the Whig party, to surrender them shortly after at the hand of death, for John Tyler, who succeeded him, leaned far more to the principles of Jefferson than against them.

It was in these earlier days of Democratic ascendancy that Illinois was born, and it is little wonder, then, that the early history of Illinois, both as a territory and as a state, largely is a history of the Illinois Democracy.







ANDREW JACKSON

## THE BEGINNINGS OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY

No one can get a true picture of the beginnings of Illinois Democracy unless he first visualizes the scantily populated territory in which that Democracy was born and cradled—of soil and forest and rock still unconquered by the hand of man.

A territory in which Indian depredations and Indian hostility to the white face were no mere legend, but a picture of everyday life!

It had been a land of many flags before our own beloved one had fluttered over it; Spanish, British, and French, and then British again.

As late as 1774 it had been designated as part of Canada by the famous Quebec act of that year.

This uncertainty of dominion continued even after the American revolution for, treated as part of Virginia until 1778, in that year the Virginia house of delegates officially extended the civil jurisdiction to the "county of Illinois," later to be known as Northwest territory by the ordinance, and still later as Indiana territory by the act of Congress.

So, too, we find ambiguity as to who really is entitled to the distinction of having been "the first governor of Illinois."

At least one early writer showed a disposition to accord that title to John Todd of Kentucky, who had been so designated following the cession of authority from Virginia.

But your present writer is not concerned with questions of this kind, but rather to treat with actual facts of government following the creation of Illinois territory by the act of Congress of 1809.

It has been said that Democrats seldom die and never resign, yet it is in evidence that the Democrat who first was designated as territorial governor of Illinois, John Boyle of Kentucky, declined the appointment after visiting the newly created territory.

On his return to Kentucky, he declared that "the duties of territorial governorship appeared too arduous."

As there are some who contend that John Boyle is entitled to the designation of the first territorial governor of Illinois, it may be well to state that he was a man of parts and one of the most distinguished jurists of his time.

Born in Bottecourt county, Virginia, October 28, 1774, he moved to Kentucky in 1794 and soon builded up a considerable practice as attorney at law.

Elected to Congress in 1803, he served by re-election till 1809—the year he was named as territorial governor.

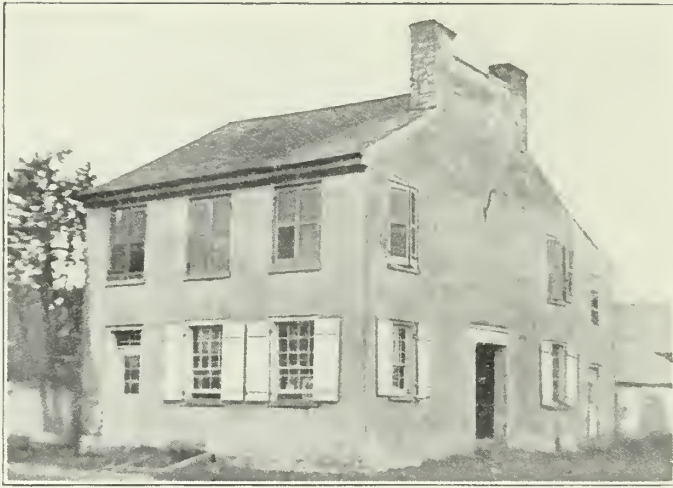
In 1810 he became chief justice of the Kentucky court of appeals.

In 1826 President Adams appointed him justice of the U. S. district court of Kentucky.

He died January 29, 1835.







ILLINOIS' FIRST CAPITOL BUILDING  
AT KASKASKIA

## THE BIRTHPLACE OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY

There have been many and conflicting claims as to the location of “the birthplace of the Illinois Democracy.”

Writers of generations long since passed had shown a disposition to give the honor to a spot not even located in our great commonwealth—to the ancient and romantic city of Vincennes, the early seat of Indiana territory, of which, until 1809, our present proud state had been somewhat of an orphaned stepchild.

While such claims are not without a basis of foundation, intelligent and close research, it seems to this author, all point to Kaskaskia, that little town of scant population and of few buildings, as being the spot to which the really great honor of designation as “the birthplace of Illinois Democracy” must be accorded.

Authentic archives show that it was to Kaskaskia that John Boyle, the famed Kentuckian who had been appointed first territorial governor of Illinois, March 7, 1809, had come and looked over the ground before returning home and declining the appointment.

Clearly it was to Kaskaskia that Ninian Edwards, appointed April 24, 1809, after a brilliant early career, had come to assume his duties as the first territorial governor of Illinois.

It was in Kaskaskia that the first territorial legislature of Illinois was called to order, on November 25, 1812, by Pierre Menard, president of the legislative council.

It was in Kaskaskia that Shadrach Bond was sworn in as the first governor of the then fresh created state, October 6, 1818.

It was in Kaskaskia that, in that same year, Illinois named its two first United States senators, Ninian Edwards and Jesse B. Thomas, both Democrats and both residents of that same small town of Kaskaskia.

It was in Kaskaskia that most of the earlier incidents of the Illinois Democracy, told in these pages, occurred.

And, because of these things, because Kaskaskia ever must be to the Democracy of Illinois what that other little town of Bethlehem ever must be to Christians the world over, it would seem well that this history should tell you a few items of interest concerning that birthplace of the Illinois Democracy as it was in the primitive days, when that Democracy was being born and cradled and nurtured to its larger stalwart manhood.

### **BORN IN RENTED PROPERTY**

Till the autumn of 1809, when Illinois officially was recognized as a territory, it had had neither legal status nor definite geographical position.

Kaskaskia, famous as a fort, had been overlooked as a seat of government until 1795, when the then St. Clair county was divided and with Randolph county forming the southern sister county.

Kaskaskia, for several years was the county seat of Randolph. It remained such until 1848, when Chester was made the new seat of county government.

### **AT BEGINNING OF NINETEENTH CENTURY**

The beginning of the nineteenth century had found the Indiana territory in progress of organization and, with General William Henry Harrison as its first governor, he selected Vincennes as the first capitol of the then Indiana territory.

Illinois remained as the two big counties of St. Clair and Randolph, with Cahokia and Kaskaskia as the respective county seats.

In 1809, when Illinois officially was organized as a territory, the name it now bears was given to it, and Kaskaskia was declared the seat of government.

### **HAD NO CAPITOL BUILDING**

The territory, at that time, owned no capitol building.

Details of the transaction which provided the first meeting place of the primitive departments of territorial government, are sadly lacking, but it is recorded that the first territorial legislature convened,



on November 25, 1812, in a house which had been occupied by the military commandants during the earlier French and English periods.

That early capitol building is described as having been a large, rough, old building of uncut limestone, with steep roof and with gables of unpainted boards, located in the center of a large and rather forlorn-looking square.

The first floor, a low and cheerless, but quite large room, was fitted up for the lower house, which then consisted of only seven members.

A small room above was used as the meeting place of the territorial council of five Democratic officials.

The two houses had but one doorkeeper—almost unbelievable in these later days. This doorkeeper acted also as official janitor and attended to the personal wants of the twelve legislators constituting the assembly.

All members boarded with the same family and lodged in one room which, apparently, must have been of considerable proportions.

That the early General Assemblies met in different houses, is shown by many records of that time, and which also indicate frequent change of ownership of the buildings which then were occupied as the seat of government of what was destined to become one of the greatest of states.

Many interesting, and sometimes amusing references are made, by early historians, of the methods of renting these administrative premises, and of the amount of compensation paid therefor.

### **RENT WAS A DOLLAR A DAY**

An appropriation was made on December 26, 1812, "to Hugh H. Maxwell, as agent for the heirs of Elijah Backus, now deceased," for a house for the use of the territorial assembly then in session.

The appropriation bill designated that the rent would be "one dollar per day for each day that the same may have been occupied."

At the second session of that assembly, no appropriation appears to have been made for house rent, but, on December 11, 1813, there was an appropriation to "John Hogue for certain repairs done to the courthouse of Randolph county, for the use thereof by the legislature during the present session, the sum of \$15.00."

Another appropriation made that same day was to Pierre Menard "for plank furnished for repairs and for two pitchers, \$10.40."

This clearly would indicate that the sessions then were being held in the Randolph county courthouse.

Official records of the territorial assembly from 1813 to 1818, contain several other appropriations for house rent, for firewood, for repairs, for twelve towels, and for other minor expenditures in behalf of the maintenance of the seat of government.

Rent was paid by the territory of Illinois for governmental housing purposes up to the time that statehood formally was declared.

### **RENT WAS NOT HIGH**

Even with the coming of statehood, the maintenance of the Illinois seat of government was anything but a costly affair.

The first general assembly of the state, at its second session, March 29, 1819, appropriated for the two sessions of the legislature and for the constitutional convention of 1818.

The actual language of that appropriation is: "To George Fisher for the use of three rooms of his house during the present and preceding session, \$4 per day; also for the use of one room during the sitting of the constitutional convention, \$2 per day."

All early records indicate that Illinois owned no capitol building of any sort, so long as the seat of government remained at Kaskaskia and that, through all those years, the so-called "capitol" consisted of rented property, the location of which was quite frequently changed.

A seat of government for the State of Illinois was formally asked for by the first general assembly.

On October 12, 1818, a state act petitioned congress to donate from one to four sections of land on the Kaskaskia river as a site for a capitol building.

On March 30, 1819, five commissioners were authorized to select the place at which the capitol should be situated.

The commissioners did their work in prompt manner, and located the capitol at what was known as "Reeve's Bluff," on the Kaskaskia

river—some seventy-eight miles from the old and ever interesting town of Kaskaskia.

The name of Vandalia was given to the place thus selected.

### **A PRIMITIVE AFFAIR**

Construction of the first capitol to be actually owned by the state was authorized by congress, the following month.

That capitol was a decidedly primitive affair.

Early writers describe it as: "A plain two-story wooden structure, the lower floor of which was devoted to one room for the house of representatives, and a passage and a stairway to the second floor."

This second floor contained two rooms, the larger of which was used as a Senate chamber, and the smaller for what then was known as the "Council of Revision."

The secretary of state, the auditor of public accounts, and the state treasurer, at that time, occupied offices not in the capitol, but in another building which they rented for their own purpose.

### **BREESE AS A TRUCKSTER**

A one-horse wagon was all that was needed to transport all of the state archives from Kaskaskia to Vandalia.

Sidney Breese, then clerk to the secretary of state, was given official charge of the work of moving all state property from the old seat at Kaskaskia to the new state capitol at Vandalia.

For his services rendered in this regard, the General Assembly ordered that they should pay to that distinguished pioneer member of the Illinois Democracy the sum of \$25.









SECOND CAPITOL BUILDING  
AT VANDALIA

## **INTERESTING FACTS CONCERNING MEMBERS OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY**

No member of the Illinois Democracy ever had been elected president of the United States.

One adopted son, Stephen A. Douglas, and one native son of the Illinois Democracy, William Jennings Bryan, were nominated by their party for the presidency, the latter three times, but each was defeated.

The Illinois Democracy has had one of its members in the vice-presidential chair—Adlai E. Stevenson, of Bloomington.

One Illinois Democrat, Henry T. Rainey, of Carrollton, was speaker of the national house.

Only one Illinois Democrat has been named to the supreme bench of the United States—Melville W. Fuller, of Chicago, appointed chief justice in 1888 by President Grover Cleveland.

Three men identified with the Illinois Democracy have served as cabinet members: Walter Quinten Gresham, Franklin MacVeigh, and William Jennings Bryan. But, of these, Gresham had been rated as a Republican until given the portfolio of state by President Cleveland, while MacVeigh had left the ranks of the Democracy in the 1896 free silver split.

Harold G. Ikes, now serving under the term of President Roosevelt, never had been rated as a member of the Illinois Democracy.

## **THIRTEEN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS**

Thirteen Illinois Democrats have occupied the governor's chair. Of these, Augustus C. French was the only one re-elected.

Democratic governors, with the date they took office, were:

Shadrach Bond, October 6, 1818.

Edward Coles, December 5, 1822.

Ninian Edwards, December 6, 1826.  
John Reynolds, December 6, 1830.  
William L. D. Ewing, November 17, 1834.  
Joseph Duncan, December 3, 1834.  
Thomas Carlin, December 7, 1838.  
Thomas Ford, December 8, 1842.  
Augustus C. French, December 9, 1846.  
Augustus C. French, January 8, 1849.  
Joel A. Matteson, January 10, 1853.  
John P. Altgeld, January 10, 1893.  
Edward F. Dunne, February 3, 1913.  
Henry Horner, January 9, 1933.

### **FIFTEEN LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS**

Fifteen Illinois Democrats have occupied the office of lieutenant governor.

These, with the date of their induction, were:

Pierre Menard, October 6, 1818.  
Adolphus F. Hubbard, December 5, 1822.  
William Kinney, December 6, 1826.  
Zodak Casey, December 9, 1830.  
William L. D. Ewing, March 1, 1833.  
Alexander M. Jenkins, December 5, 1834.  
William H. Davidson, December 9, 1836.  
Stinson H. Anderson, December 7, 1838.  
John Moore, December 8, 1842.  
Joseph B. Wells, December 9, 1846.  
William McMurty, January 8, 1849.  
Gustavus Koerner, January 10, 1853.  
Thomas A. Marshall, January 7, 1861.  
Archibald A. Glenn, January 8, 1875.  
Joseph B. Gill, January 10, 1893.  
Barratt O'Hara, February 3, 1913.  
Thomas F. Donovan, January 9, 1933.



**SECRETARIES OF STATE**

Of the sixteen Illinois Democrats serving as secretary of state, Stephen A. Douglas is the best known, from the historical standpoint, although Morris Birkbeck and Lyman Trumbull also played large part in making Illinois history.

Trumbull has the further distinction of being the second Democratic secretary of state to be removed from that office, the other being Alexander P. Field.

Believe it or not, of the first seven Democrats appointed to the position, six resigned.

Horace S. Cooley, of Quincy, is the only Illinois Democrat having the distinction of serving twice as secretary of state, first by appointment and then by election.

Democratic secretaries of state, with the date they qualified, are:

Elias Kent Kane, October 6, 1818.

Samuel D. Lockwood, December 18, 1822.

David Blackwell, April 2, 1823.

Morris Birkbeck, October 15, 1824.

George Forquer, January 15, 1825.

Alexander P. Field, January 23, 1829.

Stephen A. Douglas, November 30, 1840.

Lyman Trumbull, March 1, 1841.

Thompson Campbell, March 6, 1843.

Horace S. Cooley, December 23, 1846.

Horace S. Cooley, January 8, 1849.

David L. Gregg, April 2, 1850.

Alexander Starne, January 10, 1853.

William H. Hinrichsen, January 10, 1893.

Harry Woods, February 3, 1913.

Lewis Greene Stevenson, October 14, 1914.

Edward J. Hughes, January 9, 1933.

**NINE DEMOCRATIC AUDITORS**

Due to the fact that several Illinois Democrats served more than once in the office of auditor of public accounts, and that Elijah C.

Berry's term continued from 1818 to 1831, only nine Illinois Democrats have served in that office.

These, with the start of their respective terms, have been:

Elijah C. Berry, October 9, 1818.

Elijah C. Berry, April 6, 1819.

James T. B. Stapp, August 29, 1831.

Levi Davis, November 16, 1835.

James Shields, March 4, 1841.

William L. D. Ewing, March 26, 1843.

Thomas H. Campbell, March 26, 1846.

Thomas H. Campbell, January 7, 1847.

David Gore, January 10, 1893.

James J. Brady, February 3, 1913.

Edward J. Barrett, January 9, 1933.

### STATE TREASURERS

Seventeen Illinois Democrats have served as state treasurer, with John Moore having the distinction of being the only one to serve two terms. This was before the state constitution forbade a treasurer succeeding himself.

The list of Democratic state treasurers, with date of induction, is:

John Thomas, November 1, 1818.

R. K. McLaughlin, August 2, 1819.

Abner Field, January 14, 1823.

James Hall, February 12, 1827.

John Dement, February 1, 1831.

Charles Gregory, December 5, 1836.

John D. Whiteside, March 4, 1837.

Milton Carpenter, March 6, 1841.

John Moore, August 14, 1848.

John Moore, December 16, 1850.

Alexander Starne, January 12, 1863.

Edward S. Wilson, January 12, 1891.

Rufus N. Ramsay, January 10, 1893.

Elijah P. Ramsay, November 14, 1894.

William D. Ryan, Jr., February 3, 1913.

Edward J. Barrett, January 12, 1931.

John C. Martin, January 9, 1933.

John H. Stelle, January 9, 1935.

### **SUPERINTENDENTS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION**

The first occupant of the office of superintendent of public instruction was Ninian Wirt Edwards, by appointment of Governor Matteson.

Since then, only four Illinois Democrats have held that office and, of these, Henry Raab is the only Democratic superintendent, thus far, who has served more than one term.

These, with the dates on which they took office, were:

Ninian W. Edwards, March 24, 1854.

John P. Brooks, January 12, 1863.

Samuel M. Etter, January 11, 1875.

Henry Raab, January 5, 1883.

Henry Raab, January 12, 1891.

John A. Wieland, January 9, 1935.

### **ATTORNEYS GENERAL**

Names of many illustrious Illinois Democrats appear on the list of attorneys general of their state, as follows:

Daniel Pope Cook, March 5, 1819.

William Mears, December 14, 1819.

Samuel D. Lockwood, February 26, 1821.

James Turney, January 14, 1823.

James Turney, January 15, 1825.

George Forquer, January 23, 1829.

James Semple, January 30, 1833.

Ninian W. Edwards, September 1, 1834.

Ninian W. Edwards, January 19, 1835.

Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., February 12, 1835.

Walter B. Scates, January 18, 1836.

Usher F. Linder, February 4, 1837.

George W. Olney, June 26, 1838.

Wickliffe Kitchell, March 5, 1839.

Josiah Lamborn, December 23, 1840.

James A. McDougall, January 12, 1843.  
David B. Campbell, December 21, 1846.  
Washington Bushnell, January 11, 1869.  
Maurice T. Maloney, January 10, 1893.  
Patrick J. Lucey, February 3, 1913.  
Otto Kerner, January 9, 1933.

### UNITED STATES SENATORS

The name of Stephen A. Douglas appears three times on the list of the eighteen distinguished Illinois Democrats who, between them, have been sent twenty-six times to the Senate of the United States, from the day that those two Kaskaskia Democrats, Edwards and Thomas, were elected, until William H. Dieterich took his seat on January 4, 1933.

Here's the list, with the place of residence at the time they were elected or re-elected, and the years in which they served:

Ninian Edwards, Kaskaskia, 1818-1819.  
Jesse B. Thomas, Kaskaskia, 1818-1823.  
Ninian W. Edwards, Edwardsville, 1819-1824.  
Jesse B. Thomas, Edwardsville, 1823-1829.  
John McLean, Shawneetown, 1824-1825.  
Elias Kent Kane, Kaskaskia, 1825-1831.  
John McLean, Shawneetown, 1829-1830.  
David J. Baker, Kaskaskia, November 12-December 11, 1830.  
John M. Robinson, Carmi, 1830-1835.  
Elias Kent Kane, Kaskaskia, 1831-1835.  
John M. Robinson, Carmi, 1835-1841.  
William L. D. Ewing, Vandalia, 1835-1837.  
Richard M. Young, Jonesboro, 1837-1843.  
Samuel McRoberts, Waterloo, 1841-1843.  
Sidney Breese, Carlyle, 1843-1849.  
James Semple, Alton, 1843-1847.  
Stephen A. Douglas, Quincy, 1847-1853.  
James Shields, Springfield, 1849-1855.  
Stephen A. Douglas, Chicago, 1853-1859.  
Lyman Trumbull, Belleville, 1855-1861.

Stephen A. Douglas, Chicago, 1859-1861.

William A. Richardson, Quincy, 1863-1865.

John M. Palmer, Springfield, 1891-1897.

James Hamilton Lewis, Chicago, 1913-1919.

James Hamilton Lewis, Chicago, 1931-1937.

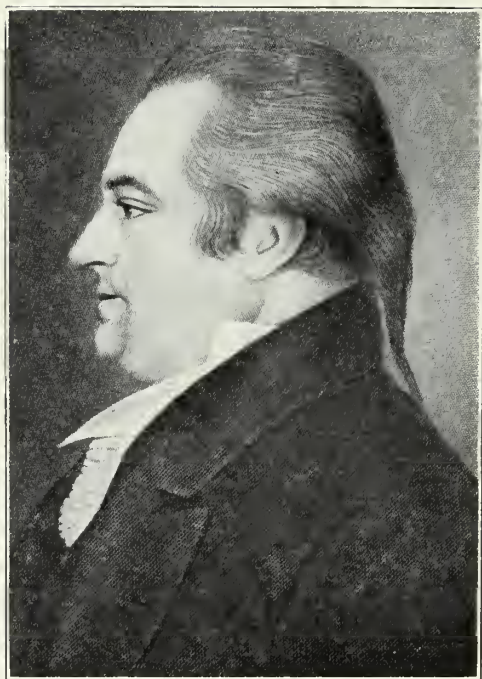
William H. Dieterich, Beardstown, 1933-1939.

You will note that Stephen A. Douglas, first elected while a resident of Quincy, officially was designated as being from Chicago in his last two elections.









NINIAN EDWARDS

## **THE EARLIEST STATESMAN OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY**

Ninian Edwards, first territorial governor (1809-1818) and third state governor (1826-1830), came to office with a distinguished background.

Born in Montgomery county, Maryland, March 6, 1775, he had received his earlier education in the classical school of Rev. James Hunt, M. A., a tutor of real ability.

Completing his general education at Dickerson college, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, he then took up, in turn, study of law and medicine.

A year before attaining his majority, he removed to Nelson, Kentucky, and lived with his father's family in that town and was promptly elected to the general assembly of the Blue Grass state.

Re-elected at the expiration of his term, he definitely decided that law rather than medicine had the larger appeal to him. He was admitted to the Kentucky bar in 1798 and, eleven months later, to the bar of Tennessee.

His rise was rapid. Serving successively as clerk and judge of the general court; at the age of 28 he was advanced to the position of circuit judge (1803); judge of the court of appeals (1806) and chief justice of Kentucky two years later.

### **COMES TO ILLINOIS**

The congress of 1809 had made provision for formal organization of the territory of Illinois embracing not only what is now our own commonwealth, but also all of the present state of Wisconsin and a considerable portion of Minnesota.

The act provided that such territorial organization was to be effective March 1, 1809, and upon Justice John Boyle declining the place, President Madison offered it to Edwards, then in his thirty-fourth year, and it promptly was accepted.

Sworn in as territorial governor on June 11, 1809, he found it necessary to take immediate steps to check the frequent depredations by Indians.

Congress had taken no action in the matter, so, chiefly on his own initiative, the young governor organized and equipped several companies of volunteers and built a line of sturdy stockade forts from the Missouri to the Wabash river.

These precautionary measures proved of much service during the war of 1812 and in frontier wars with the Indians. He received official commendation from the national government.

### **EARLY PEACE COMMISSIONER**

Edwards' success in dealing with Indians had been so pronounced that in 1816 President Madison appointed him one of three commissioners to treat with the various tribes.

With the granting of statehood in 1818, Edwards was elected one of the first two senators from Illinois, both of them Democrats.

He served from December 4, 1818, until March 4, 1824, when he resigned to accept appointment as minister to Mexico, then, as now, a position of grave responsibilities.

### **EDWARDS MADE A TARGET**

Attacks on political leaders were not unknown even in the earliest days of our state and charges alleging abuses in official expenditures were brought against the minister to Mexico by William H. Crawford, secretary of the U. S. Treasury.

On learning of the allegations, Edwards promptly returned to Illinois and held several conferences with friends. After reviewing the situation, he made up his mind that he could not prepare adequate defense at long range, so he resigned from his position at Mexico City and returned home.

The Crawford-Edwards controversy may be said to be the first semblance of official scandal involving a distinguished Illinois Democrat, and had a bearing on the subsequent history of state and party, as, while the secretary of the treasury's charges were never substantiated and were subsequently allowed to drop, Edwards agreed with his



friends that complete vindication could best be accomplished by again submitting himself to the voters of Illinois as a candidate for high office.

His continued popularity was demonstrated by his election (1826) as governor in succession to Edward Coles.

Under his administration, Governor Edwards saw the population of our state increase three-fold, and to him also must be accorded credit for much of the beginnings of higher education in Illinois.

It was under his incumbency that McKendree college at Lebanon was opened in 1828 and Illinois College at Jacksonville a year later.

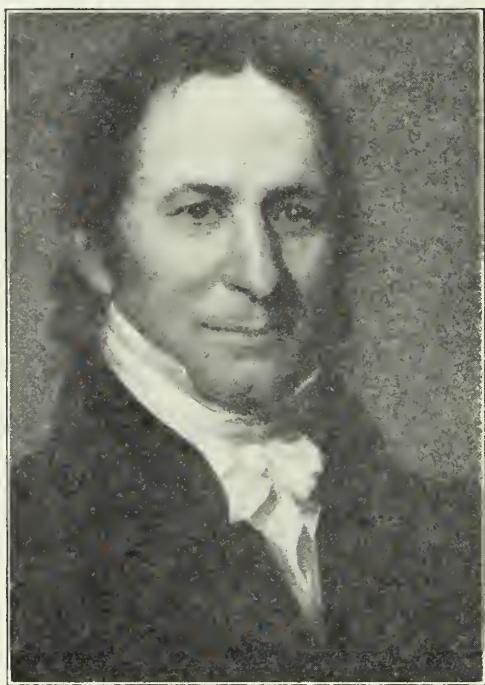
Married to Elvira Lane, one of the recognized early belles of Maryland, in 1802, Ninian Edwards was happy in his domestic life. Three sons and two daughters were born to the union: Ninian Wirt, Albert Gallatin, and Benjamin Stevenson, and Julia and Margaret.

A career of great activity and distinction came to a close at the early age of fifty-eight years, when the former judge, senator, envoy, and governor, passed away at Belleville, July 20, 1833.

Direct descendants of the man who well may be said to have been the earliest statesman of Illinois are residents of Springfield at this writing.







SHADRACH BOND

## THE CHIEF DEMOCRAT OF EARLY STATEHOOD

Like Ninian Edwards, Shadrach Bond, first state governor of Illinois, was a native of Maryland, having been born in Frederick county in 1773.

The son of Nicholas Bond, one of the chief planters of his day, his education was thorough, but of the home-grown variety.

A determining event in his life, and one destined to leave lasting imprint on Illinois, came when, on reaching his majority, he journeyed to "The American Bottom" country to join an uncle, Shadrach Bond, Sr., who temporarily had settled in that part of the Northwest territory

On October 15, 1813, Shadrach Bond moved to the then territorial capital at Kaskaskia, where his subsequent life largely was spent.

Elected in turn to the territorial legislature (1809) and to the national congress, where he served from December 3, 1812, until April 18, 1814, he became one of the earliest and most energetic advocates of prompt statehood for Illinois.

In 1814 President Madison appointed him as U. S. receiver of public moneys for all of Illinois territory—a position of much importance and responsibility in those primitive days.

The receiver's headquarters were at Kaskaskia and his offices in that city, then with a population of about 3,000, soon became a recognized center, not only of governmental, but of political activity.

Plain spoken, but attractive in personality, Shadrach Bond brought to his immediate circle a large number of men with keen interest in public affairs and, in no spirit of criticism, may be said to have been the pioneer organizer of Illinois Democracy.



**STATEHOOD IS ATTAINED**

The statehood for which Bond had been one of the earliest advocates, came into sight April 18, 1818, with the passing by congress of the enabling act. In accordance with the terms of that act, a convention met in Kaskaskia and (August 26, 1818) accepted the terms of congress and framed the first state constitution.

The first election for state officers and members of the general assembly was held a month later and Shadrach Bond was elected first governor without opposition.

The same unanimous approval was accorded Pierre Menard for the lieutenant governorship.

Shadrach Bond's administration gave general satisfaction and, among other things, was marked by his persistent advocacy of waterways, especially the construction of a canal from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi.

It was during the Bond regime that Vandalia became the capital.

With the close of his term as governor, he was appointed registrar of the land office at Kaskaskia, a position which he held almost till his death.

He passed out at Kaskaskia April 11, 1830, rich in honors and in friendships.

## THE "JOHN THE BAPTIST" OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY

Abraham Lincoln is known the world over as "The Great Emancipator."

Conceding this, it well may be asserted that Edward Coles, second governor (1822-1826) was "The John the Baptist" of the emancipation movement in Illinois.

Edward Coles, too, has the distinction of having been the first governor of Illinois against whom an indictment was returned during his term of office; but an indictment which, while he was convicted, redounds to his credit.

This second executive of our great state had been born in Albemarle county, Virginia, December 15, 1786, and was early alluded to as "our scholarly governor."

He was entitled to the designation.

The son of Colonel John and Rebecca Tucker Coles, a member of one of the most distinguished families of the Old Dominion, he had been educated at Hampden-Sidney and later, at William and Mary.

Failing health, however, necessitated his leaving the latter famed institution before receiving his degree.

In 1808 he inherited a plantation of many acres and with numerous slaves.

But he hated slavery and expressed deep regret at such inheritance, announcing his determination to remove to a "Free State".

In 1809 he was appointed private secretary to President Madison, a close friend of the family, of which Thomas Jefferson also was an intimate acquaintance.

Serving in this confidential capacity to the national executive until 1815, in the intervening years, his disgust at slavery grew more intense and, in 1814, he wrote Jefferson urging him to take up his pen in behalf of abolition.

### JEFFERSON'S REPLY

Jefferson's letter in reply should be regarded as a really historic document, for it contains this phrase:

"The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people and it is a mortal reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain."

That, mark you, was nearly half a century before Abraham Lincoln put the force of his immortal manhood to rid these United States of the ignominy of human bondage.

At the termination of his duties as secretary to the president in 1815, still determined to be associated only with a free state, Edward Coles made an extensive visit to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

But he made no choice of location at that time, as he was recalled to the national capital in 1816.

### THE EARLIEST ILLINOIS DIPLOMAT

He was sent to St. Petersburg, Russia, on an errand of much importance which required personal interview with the Czar and which he performed in his usual skillful manner.

Returning to his native land in 1818, he definitely decided to settle in Illinois.

He attended the Kaskaskia convention which, on August 3, 1818, adopted Illinois' first constitution and was watchful throughout that gathering that nothing might be inserted in that historic document which could be held to countenance slavery.

In 1819 President Monroe appointed him registrar of the U. S. land office with headquarters in Belleville.

Virtually simultaneous with his assumption of that office, Coles not only freed all his slaves, but gave each negro head of a family 160 acres of land.

### EARLY CURRENCY PROBLEMS

Elected governor in 1822, his inaugural address, delivered December 5 of that year, may have especial interest at this time for, in it, Edward Coles deplored "the fluctuating and deranged state of the circulating medium and the mania for establishing banks."

Coles' administration was, by far, the stormiest in the earlier history of our state.

Soon after his inauguration he was beset by angry storms of protest from pro-slavery advocates who insisted that the constitution of 1818 could not be held to set aside the original provisions of the Virginia acts in regard to slavery.

He was frequently heckled by pro-slavery legislators and when he ignored a demand by the general assembly for the laying before it of certain executive documents, a tempest broke out, which, later, was described by Governor Reynolds as "The most furious and boisterous excitement that was ever witnessed in Illinois."

Coles added to the flames, about this time, by purchasing a controlling interest in *The Vandalia Intelligencer*, the only newspaper at the new state capital.

In frequent editorials he denounced the pro-slavery forces, while articles along the same line signed "Jonathan Freeman" attracted attention throughout the United States.

It first was thought that the "Jonathan Freeman" articles were penned by Coles himself, but it subsequently developed that they were the work of Morris Birkbeck, an English farmer who had settled near Vandalia, and who was an enthusiastic supporter of the governor's anti-slavery policies.

### GOVERNOR IS INDICTED

Even after the move for revision of the constitution had been defeated in August, 1824, by a majority of 1,872 votes out of a total vote of 11,772, the pro-slavery storm continued unabated.

Governor Coles was indicted on the charge that he had "Failed to supply bonds that the negroes he had emancipated should not become public charges."

He was convicted and heavily fined, but the conviction was overruled by the supreme court (1826) and a new trial granted.

With Coles out of office, a further hearing of the case was not pressed.

As long as the battle continued, Coles held his ground and remained an active Illinois citizen and an active Illinois Democrat.

But, in 1833, physically wearied of a long but splendid battle, he left the borders of the state that he loved so well and settled in Philadelphia, where, in November of that year, he married Miss Sally Logan, daughter of a noted family of the Keystone commonwealth.

On July 7, 1868, in that city, he passed to his eternal reward—Illinois' second governor, but its first emancipator and first diplomat!

His oldest son, Edward, and a daughter survived his death.



## A NORTHERNER BUT A SLAVERY ADVOCATE

Illinois had its first Northern-born executive in John Reynolds (1830-1834) yet, strange to relate, he was a pronounced advocate of slavery—the antithesis of the southern-reared Edward Coles in this and in many other ways.

He had been born of Irish ancestry in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, February 26, 1789.

Brought to Kaskaskia by his parents when he was barely eleven years old, the first nine years of his life in Illinois were spent on a farm—an early training which gave him that intimate knowledge of agriculture which he demonstrated on many occasions during his subsequent official career.

Following a common school education, he spent two years in college at Knoxville, Tennessee, commencing the practicing of law soon thereafter.

In 1812-1813 he served as a scout in the campaigns against the Indians, winning for himself the title which adhered in after life, of “The Old Ranger”.

Afterward, he removed to Cahokia, where he resumed the practice of law and, in 1818, became Associate Justice of the first Supreme Court of the new state.

Retiring from the bench in 1825, he served two terms in the general assembly. In 1832 as governor, he created a precedent by personally commanding the State volunteers called for service in the Black Hawk War.

Two years before the expiration of his gubernatorial term (1834) he resigned to accept the seat in Congress to which he had been elected as successor to Charles Slade, who had died while in office.

Reynolds was re-elected in 1838 and, at that time, was regarded as one of the most consistent of Democrats.

In 1848 he returned to his earlier and less distinguished position as representative of the fifteenth general assembly. He served also in the eighteenth (1852-1854), being chosen speaker of the latter, being, the first man who had served as governor to be chosen to the position.

In 1858 he became the administration, or Buchanan, Democratic candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, as opposed to the regular, or Douglas, Democratic nominee.

### **HIS EDUCATIONAL QUALITIES?**

Reynolds' educational qualities have been a subject of considerable controversy among earlier historians.

In his campaign for the governorship in 1830, he was opposed by William Kinney, a minister of the Gospel, who had served as lieutenant governor under Ninian Edwards.

While both Reynolds and Kinney were running as Democrats, the campaign was marked by much bitterness and one of the charges hurled at Reynolds by supporters of his opponent was that "despite his alleged two years in a Tennessee college, his language is uncouth and it is not apparent that his actual education extends even to the three R's."

It was a stirring and spicy campaign and, when Kinney followers introduced the charge that "Reynolds apparently is drunk during most of his canvassing," supporters of the latter brought the counter indictment that "Kinney is a heavier drinker than Reynolds."

It was the first gubernatorial campaign in which newspapers had played much of a part and, as "personal journalism" was characteristic of the period the editorial utterances largely were of a vitriolic nature and much concerned with the alleged drinking habits of the rival nominees.

Describing these charges in later years, Reynolds wrote: "It was a universal custom of the times to treat with liquor. We both did it; but he was condemned for it more than myself by the religious community, he being a preacher of the gospel."

The bitter campaign that resulted in a victory for Reynolds by a

vote of 12,937 to 9,038, remained a leading topic of conversation among Illinois Democrats for many years thereafter.

### **GOOD INAUGURAL MESSAGE**

Whatever may have been Reynolds' educational qualities, the archives of Illinois show that his inaugural address, delivered December 6, 1830, was a thoughtfully prepared and highly creditable document.

In view of the charges of illiteracy that had been hurled at him before his election, the following paragraphs from that message may not have been without their sense of the humorous:

"In the whole circle of your legislation, there is no subject that has a greater claim upon your attention or calls louder for your aid than that of education.

"There cannot be any appropriation of money within the exercise of your legislative powers that will be more richly paid to the citizens."

### **EDITOR AND HISTORIAN**

For several years Reynolds edited a Belleville daily newspaper, "The Eagle."

He further gave the lie to the charges of being illiterate by writing and publishing several books, largely historical. Of these the best known are "Pioneer History of Illinois" (Belleville, 1848) and "My Life and Times" (Belleville, 1855).

### **A WAVE OF INDIGNATION**

Reynolds was a decidedly active force in Illinois Democratic politics for more than half a century, but his later years were marked by much bitterness.

During the civil war period, quite general indignation was expressed over the state as the result of an ill-advised letter written by Reynolds to Jefferson Davis and in which he expressed sympathy for the cause of secession.

This letter naturally led to the charge, brought against many other Illinois notables at the time, that Reynolds was an active supporter of the copperhead movement.

Death came to him at 76 years of age, the end occurring at Belleville, May 8, 1865.

Even on his passing there were those that were not disposed to let the kindly mantle of charity and of mother earth cover his career, for one writer of the period said:

“Reynolds’ career will be marked chiefly by future historians in that he was governor of Illinois during the winter of the deep snow” (1830-1831).

But, for one, this humble attempt at history rather would close the Reynolds chapter with the words of Governor Ford: “He had a kind heart and was always ready to do a favor and never harbored resentment against a human being.”







ORIGINAL STATE HOUSE  
AT SPRINGFIELD

## **BEGINNINGS OF THE CONVENTION SYSTEM**

While not connected with his administration, the period of John Reynolds in the gubernatorial chair had been marked by another happening of great importance to the Illinois Democracy—the beginning of the convention system.

From 1800 until 1824, all candidates for the presidency had been named by caucuses of members of congress, and the people themselves had very little to do with the matter.

But following the year 1824, when the election had been thrown into the national house of representatives, this caucus system, owing to the popular prejudice and vigorous clamor against it, was abandoned.

In its place was substituted the plan of nominating presidential aspirants by state legislatures and popular meetings.

In this way General Jackson had been brought before the people of his country, and elected in 1828.

## **FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION**

The first Democratic National convention was held in Baltimore beginning May 21, 1832, and was called to select a nominee for the vice-presidency.

General Robert Lucas, of Ohio, presided over the deliberations of the gathering which was largely attended by delegates from many parts of the union.

## **TWO-THIRDS RULE ADOPTED**

It was at this first Democratic national convention that the two-thirds rule, which originated with Delegate John Saunders of North Carolina, was adopted.

It has been followed by every Democratic national convention since that time although, as in Chicago in 1930, there have been move-

ments for its abolition and the substitution of nominations by majority vote.

Martin Van Buren, of New York, was nominated for vice-president on the first ballot, after which President Andrew Jackson, who had no opposition in his own party, was re-nominated for president by a resolution offered by Delegate C. C. Clay of Alabama.

### **SYSTEM EXTENDED TO STATES**

The convention system was treated with considerable enthusiasm all over the land and arrangements to extend it to the states made rapid progress.

But in Illinois, the convention system appears to have been introduced gradually and, as in several other states, as a matter of convenience rather than of adherence to any broad principle.

In 1835, at Vandalia, then the seat of government, the subject of party organization and formal adoption of the convention system came up for public discussion but no direct decision was made.

Yet the convention system well may be said to have commenced in Illinois with that gathering.

### **DOUGLAS FAVORED IT**

One of the first county conventions in Illinois was that held at Jacksonville by the Democracy of Morgan county, in April, 1836.

Stephen A. Douglas, then a very young man, was one of the originators of the movement for the convention, and was an active participant in its proceedings.

### **FIRST ILLINOIS STATE CONVENTION**

The first Democratic state convention met at Vandalia, December 11, 1837, and nominated James W. Stephenson, of Galena, for governor, and John S. Hacher, of Union county, for lieutenant governor.

In April following, both of these nominees having withdrawn from the race, the convention was called on to reassemble on June 5, when Thomas Carlin, then of Quincy, was nominated for governor, and Stinson H. Anderson, of Jefferson county, for lieutenant governor.

They were victorious at the ensuing election.

The Vandalia convention of June appointed the following state

committee, to serve until the next convention: Virgil Hickox, John Taylor, Robert Allen, John Cahoun, Charles R. Hurst, and David Prickett.

### **THE SECOND STATE CONVENTION**

The second Democratic state convention in the history of Illinois Democracy met, pursuant to call by the state committee, at Springfield on December 9, 1839, the seat of government meanwhile having been removed to the present capital.

The gathering selected delegates to the national convention to be held at Baltimore in May, 1840, and appointed members of the state central committee as follows: E. D. Taylor, Virgil Hickox, James Shields, Jonathan R. Diller, Milton Carpenter, William Walters, and George R. Weber.

This was the year of the famous "Hard Cider" campaign, in which Illinois was saved to the Democracy "by the skin of its teeth."

### **THE THIRD STATE CONVENTION**

The third Democratic state convention met on the call of the central committee, at Springfield, December 13, 1841, and nominated Adam W. Snyder, of Belleville, for governor, and John Moore, of McLean, for lieutenant-governor.

The convention selected a state central committee consisting of: D. B. Campbell, James Shepherd and George R. Weber, of Sangamon county; James H. Ralston, of Adams; Thompson Campbell, of Jo Daviess; M. W. Nunally, of Edgar county; and John A. McClelland, of Gallatin.

The excitement of the convention proved too much for the gubernatorial nominee and he died suddenly.

Thomas Ford, then justice of the supreme court, was selected by the state central committee to fill the vacancy.

### **THE FOURTH STATE CONVENTION**

The fourth Democratic state convention assembled at Springfield February 4, 1844, to choose delegates to the national convention which was to be held in Baltimore in May of that year, and to nominate presi-

dential electors. No change was made in the personnel of the state central committee which had been appointed by the convention of 1841.

### THE CONVENTION OF 1846

The fifth Democratic state convention assembled at Springfield, pursuant to call of the state committee February 10, 1846.

It nominated Augustus C. French, then of Palestine, for governor, and Joseph B. Wells, for lieutenant governor.

Nominees for presidential electors were also chosen, and the following state central committee named: Jonathan R. Diller, William Walters, Bela C. Webster, E. D. Jones, Peter Sweet, Murray McConnell, and John Moore.

### FRENCH RENOMINATED

The sixth Democratic state convention met in the capitol in Springfield on April 24, 1848 and, while there was some talk of opposing the incumbent, Augustus C. French, the records show that he was unanimously named as the party's candidate for re-election, while William McMurtry was chosen for lieutenant governor.

By virtue of the provisions of the constitution of 1818, all state officers other than the governor and the lieutenant governor were appointed either by the chief executive or the legislature.

The 1848 Springfield convention also selected delegates to the national gathering to be held at Baltimore, and appointed as members of the state central committee: Virgil Hickox, J. R. Diller, and H. E. Roberts, of Sangamon; J. P. Cooper, of Clark; F. D. Preston, of Gallatin; Robert Dunlap, of Madison, and James Dunlap, of Morgan.

### SYSTEM IS CHANGED

The changes made in the constitution which had been submitted to the voters in 1848 were reflected in the seventh Democratic state convention which assembled in Springfield on April 19, 1852, and that convention, in addition to choosing candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, for the first time in the history of Illinois selected nominees for secretary of state, auditor of public accounts, and state treasurer.

The nominees of this convention were:

Joel Matteson of Joliet, for governor.

Gustavus P. Koerner, of Belleville, for lieutenant-governor.

Alexander Starne, of Springfield, for secretary of state.

Thomas H. Campbell, for auditor.

John Moore, for treasurer.

In addition to selecting candidates for state offices, the convention nominated candidates as presidential electors and selected delegates to the national convention, again to be held at Baltimore.

On account of the rapid growth of Illinois in population, it was decided to increase the number of the state central committee and, for the first time in the history of the party, to select them by congressional districts, rather than from the state as a whole which formerly had been the rule.

The state central committee selected by the 1852 convention consisted of:

At large—John A. McClelland, Josiah McRoberts, and Thomas L. Harris.

First congressional district—William H. Snyder.

Second congressional district—F. D. Preston.

Third congressional district—B. W. Henry.

Fourth congressional district—E. Wilcox.

Fifth congressional district—M. W. Delahay.

Sixth congressional district—James Sibley.

Seventh congressional district—Charles H. Lanphier.

The committeeman from the seventh, or Springfield, district was editor and publisher of the Illinois State Register and served on the state central committee for a period of nearly a quarter of a century.

He was one of the foremost Democrats of his time and it hardly is an exaggeration to say that few men at Springfield, at that time, had more influence than Charles H. Lanphier.

### NAMED BY STATE COMMITTEE

The year 1854 was one of considerable turbulence in politics. It witnessed the breaking up of the Whig party and serious schism in the Democratic ranks of many states.



A new political organization, at that time called the Anti-Nebraska party but afterward called the Republican, was making its presence felt and creating much havoc among adherents of the older party. This especially was true in Illinois where the matter of slavery had remained more or less of an issue despite the action of the 1847 constitutional convention.

On account of these conditions and due also to the fact that the state treasurer was the only office for which nominations were to be made, it was decided to hold no formal convention.

Instead, the state central committee met in Springfield and, after consultations with other party leaders, re-nominated "Honest John" Moore, whose administration had given general satisfaction.

The ebbing fortunes of the Illinois Democracy, however, were already in evidence and, while John Moore was re-elected, it was by much less than the normal party majority.

A good deal of rancor had been in evidence throughout the campaign, and the intensive issues growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise were subjects of vigorous debate on nearly every street corner.

### **CHAIRMAN REPORTED WAVERING**

The situation drew more tense with the passing of each month and there were rumors that John A. McClelland, afterwards famous as one of the really great soldiers of the Civil War, was wavering in his adherence to the Illinois Democratic party, of which he had been chosen chairman of the state central committee.

However, Chairman McClelland issued the official call for the eighth Democratic state convention to meet at Springfield on May 1, 1856, and acted as its temporary presiding officer.

Thomas Dyer, of Chicago, which already was making tremendous strides in population, was chosen permanent chairman of the gathering.

The nominees of that convention, destined to be the first ticket of their party to go down to defeat in Illinois, were:

For governor—Col. Wm. A. Richardson, of Quincy.

For lieutenant governor—R. J. Hamilton.

For secretary of State—William H. Snyder.

For treasurer—John Moore.

For auditor—Samuel K. Casey.

For superintendent of public instruction—John H. St. Matthew.

The convention designated candidates for presidential electors and chose delegates to the national convention which was to be held at Cincinnati in the ensuing June.

The state central committee chosen by the 1856 convention was as follows:

At large—Alexander Starne and Charles H. Launprier.

First district—F. W. S. Brawley.

Second district—John Dement.

Third district—William Reddick.

Fourth district—Robert Holloway.

Fifth district—W. H. Carlin.

Sixth district—Virgil Hickox.

Seventh district—W. D. Latshaw.

Eighth district—A. H. Trapp.

Ninth district—S. S. Taylor.

### **WAS STIRRING CAMPAIGN**

Some historians are disposed to regard the Illinois campaign of 1856 as the most dramatic in the history of our commonwealth, excluding even the momentous one that was to follow four years later.

Certainly the 1856 struggle was a stirring one and party lines were "shot to pieces."

Col. Richardson, the party standard bearer, personally was popular, and had the further advantage of being a recognized lieutenant and close friend of Stephen A. Douglas.

But the popularity of the candidates, themselves, was not sufficient to withstand the rising tide, and all went down to defeat.

### **FIRST CONVENTION AS OUTS**

The ninth Democratic state convention which assembled at Springfield April 21, 1858, was the first that met with the party out of office, and this fact was decidedly manifest both in the lessened attendance

and an absence of the marked enthusiasm which had been characteristic of former Democratic state meetings.

Alexander Starne of Springfield, as chairman of the state central committee, called the gathering to order and there was considerable applause when Col. John Moore, former state treasurer, was introduced to assume the office of permanent chairman.

But taken as a whole, it was a listless gathering and there were many empty seats when formal action was taken, choosing nominees as follows:

For state treasurer—William B. Fondey.

For superintendent of public instruction—Former Governor Augustus C. French, of Lebanon.

Members of the state central committee selected were:

At large—John Moore and Charles H. Lanphier.

First district—C. J. Horseman.

Second district—James W. Sheahan.

Third district—N. D. Elwood.

Fourth district—John McDonald.

Fifth District—Alexander Starne.

Sixth district—Virgil Hickox.

Seventh district—Samuel A. Buckmaster.

Eighth district—O. B. Ficklin.

Ninth district—John H. White.

John Moore of McLean county, was selected as chairman of the committee and directed the Democratic cause in the campaign which followed, and in which the larger interest was in the senatorial contest between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, and in which the latter triumphed.

### CONVENTION OF GLOOM

A writer of the time has described the tenth Democratic state convention which assembled in Springfield on January 2, 1860, as "The Convention of Gloom." Despite the inspiration of Douglas the earlier enthusiasms were missing and, after some discussion among members of the state central committee, it was decided to defer action on the nomination for state offices, and to confine action chiefly to the naming

of delegates to the Democratic national convention which was to be held at Charleston, South Carolina, three months later.

A resolution continuing the existing state committee temporarily in office, was adopted by unanimous vote.

## SECOND CONVENTION OF YEAR

The eleventh Democratic state convention, and the second to be called that year, met in Springfield on June 13, 1860.

On recommendation of the state central committee, William McMurtry, former lieutenant governor, was made permanent chairman.

In selecting candidates for presidential electors, the convention after some discussion, pledged them to vote for the nominees of the Charleston-Baltimore convention.

James C. Allen of Palestine, was nominated for governor, and Lewis W. Ross of Lewiston, for lieutenant-governor.

As state central committeemen for the period which was destined to be marked as that of the greatest civil war in history, the convention selected:

At large—Virgil Hickox and Thomas H. Campbell.

First district—H. W. Foltz.

Second district—Aaron Haven.

Third district—W. N. Coler.

Fourth district—W. S. Moss.

Fifth district—Samuel Holmes.

Sixth district—Charles H. Lanphier.

Seventh district—Wm. M. Springer.

Eighth district—H. W. Billings.

Ninth district—John H. White.

William M. Springer, chosen as a member of the committee from the seventh district, was just beginning to exercise marked influence in Democratic politics and later was destined, not only to represent the Springfield district in the congress of the nation, but to be floor leader of his party in the lower house.

Virgil Hickox was chosen chairman of the state committee and it was to him, in that capacity, that Senator Stephen A. Douglas addressed his last public letter in May, 1861.

**RUMP CONVENTION HELD**

The first Democratic "Rump Convention" ever held in Illinois was called by the Buchanan wing of the party, and met in Springfield on July 11, 1860.

However, only fourteen counties were represented and, while a state ticket was named, the nominees thereof received insignificant vote at the ensuing election.

### THREE ILLINOIS DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS IN THREE WEEKS

An unusual happening of the year 1834 was that Illinois had three Democratic governors in as many weeks—or, to be more accurate, three state executives within sixteen days.

Most historians have overlooked this peculiar incident, or series of incidents, yet it stands out as unequalled in all the annals of our commonwealth.

On November 17, 1834, John Reynolds was governor, but surrendered the office that day to take a seat in Congress.

Lieutenant Governor Casey, who normally would have succeeded Reynolds, didn't do so for the reason that he also resigned to take a congressional seat.

This automatically brought to the gubernatorial chair William Lee Ewing, who was president of the upper chamber, or as the office then was designated, "speaker of the senate."

Ewing served from November 17 until December 3, when Joseph Duncan was inaugurated.

Some writers have attributed Paris, Kentucky, as having been the birthplace both of Ewing and Duncan, but this is not correct.

William Lee Ewing was born near Nashville, Tennessee, the son of Rev. Finis Ewing, famous in the early history of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and of Peggy Davidson, daughter of General William Davidson of North Carolina, and who had served under George Washington.

Admitted to the Tennessee bar, Ewing moved to Illinois in 1818, just as it had achieved statehood.

He settled in Shawneetown, then the most bustling and prosperous community in the whole state.



In 1825, President Monroe named him as receiver of public moneys at Vandalia to which the seat of government recently had been transferred.

### **SUFFERED HEAVY LOSS**

Ewing, personally, suffered serious financial loss when his office at Vandalia was robbed during the destruction by fire of the state house in which the office was located.

Valuable documents also were destroyed.

Ewing later served with considerable distinction in the Black Hawk War, as a member of the "Spy Battalion," or, as it now would be called, of the intelligence division.

In 1832, an ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson, he was elected to the state senate from the district then comprised of Fayette, Marion, and Clay Counties, and two years later was elected presiding officer of that body.

A year after his brief term in the executive chair (December 29, 1835) Ewing was elected by the general assembly as United States senator in succession to Elias K. Kane who had died. He served until March 4, 1837, being defeated for re-election.

In 1840 he was elected to the lower branch of the general assembly and chosen speaker—being one of the few men who have presided over both branches of the Illinois legislature.

### **GOVERNOR, SENATOR, AUDITOR!**

Having served as governor and U. S. Senator, in 1843, the general assembly elected him auditor of public accounts—thus completing an unusual whirligig of ups and down in political office.

Whatever question may have existed as to the scholarly attainments of his immediate predecessor, there could be none as to Ewing. He was recognized as an authority on latin and a real scholar.

His wife was a daughter of Elijah E. Berry, the first state auditor of Illinois.

Ewing died while on a visit to Ohio, March 25, 1846.

A kindly man of uniformly pleasant disposition, his death sincerely was mourned by the many thousands that knew him.

## **EARLY "LONG DISTANCE" DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN**

The 1834 campaign that ended in the election of Joseph Duncan as governor (1834-1838) was noteworthy in that the Democratic nominee made no personal canvass and delivered no address within the borders of his own state.

Instead, he remained in Washington, attending to the duties in congress to which he first had been elected in 1827.

But during the progress of the campaign, Duncan delivered several addresses from the floor of the house and these promptly were printed and sent on from the national capitol for distribution to the electorate of Illinois.

Duncan also had the advantage of an early military background hardly second to that of any Illinois pioneer and was looked on as "a soldier hero."

In August, 1813, then only nineteen years of age, he had served under Colonel Craghan as a lieutenant of the 17th U. S. Infantry in the defense of Fort Stephenson, near Fremont, Ohio.

The attacking British army, under General Proctor, numbered 500 regulars and they were aided by nearly as many Indians, while the defending force had only 129 men.

The situation appeared so hopeless to Gen. William Henry Harrison that he gave orders to evacuate the fort.

Craghan didn't like the instruction to retreat and, instead of complying, he called a war council of his officers.

Duncan was the first to recommend disobedience of the order to retire and suggested that the defending force stand its ground at any cost.

Craghan required no second urging to await the onslaught of the enemy.

For thirty-nine hours Fort Stephenson was under cannonade and with numerous sorties in which Duncan showed himself most intrepid.

The foe finally was repulsed with their forces retreating in the worst kind of disorder and the British advance toward Cleveland was definitely stopped.

### **DECORATED BY CONGRESS**

Despite this flagrant disobedience to General Harrison's orders, the daring insubordination was overlooked in the impressive victory that had followed and Duncan and his fellow officers were thanked by congress and presented with gold medals (1835).

The monument at Fremont commemorative of the American defense and victory still stands.

In November, 1815, Duncan was given command of a company of infantry and sent to Canada to watch the movements of the British forces. For five months that winter he maintained camp within a few miles of enemy headquarters.

With the declaration of peace he relinquishes his army commission, but saw subsequent service as major general of Illinois militia and commanded the state forces in the field during the first Black Hawk War.

### **"MORGAN'S FIRST STATESMAN"**

Joseph Duncan has been described as "Morgan county's first statesman."

Born in Paris, Kentucky, February 22, 1794, the son of Major Joseph and Ann McLaughlin Duncan—descendants of the famous "Duncan clan" of Scottish history—Joseph Duncan moved to Illinois from his native state in 1818, settling for a while at Fountain Bluff, on the Mississippi river. He soon changed his residence to Jacksonville with which city he remained identified until his death.

From his first arrival in the Morgan metropolis he showed a keen interest in politics and in 1823 was elected state senator.

### **TRAGEDY DURING HIS TERM**

The many excellent accomplishments of the Duncan administration are somewhat dimmed from the historical standpoint, by the larger

interest that has pertained to the lamentable tragedy at Alton in which Elijah P. Lovejoy lost his life at the hands of a mob (November, 1837).

Some critics, both of that period and later, have been disposed to blame Governor Duncan for not having taken measures for the protection of the liberator editor, but close students of the many events connected with the lamentable affair agree that this was impossible in view of the suddenness with which the killing came.

### **A CONSTRUCTIVE ADMINISTRATION**

Considering the many handicaps of the period, the Duncan regime well may be classed as constructive.

He was far in advance of his generation as an advocate of public schools and of institutions of higher learning.

Knox College at Galesburg and Monticello séminary at Godfrey had their beginnings during the Duncan incumbency.

He donated lands valued at more than \$10,000 to Illinois College and made numerous cash contributions.

He was persistent in his denunciation of slavery which, early in his public career, he had branded as "a great moral and political evil."

A devout Presbyterian, he was a rigid advocate of the temperance cause and participated in early campaigns in its behalf.

### **MARRIED IN WASHINGTON**

While in Washington on his congressional duties, May 13, 1828, Duncan married Miss Elizabeth Caldwell Smith of New York City—granddaughter of James Caldwell, the New Jersey "fighting parson."

Of ten children only three survived his death which took place in Jacksonville, January 15, 1844.



## EARLY DAYS OF GREAT DEPRESSION IN ILLINOIS

Thomas Carlin, state executive from 1838 to 1842, has been described as "The first Irish governor of Illinois."

He came to the chief position of the state in times of financial stress bordering on chaos.

His predecessor, Joseph Duncan, was not responsible for the vast program of public works which had brought tremendous indebtedness to the state and that program had been passed by an over-enthusiastic legislature, in face of his veto.

This indebtedness including state bonds which had been exchanged for bank stock aggregated \$6,688,784, an amount that would seem insignificant in 1935 but which was an enormous sum in those early days.

The credit of the state was at low ebb and with the \$1,500,000 failure of the Illinois bank the stringency was increased; while ruin and despair came to thousands of private citizens who lost their all.

Carlin, himself, was a man who, in early life had overcome many difficulties, but he now found himself little able to cope with deplorable conditions.

Several suicides were recorded in various parts of the state.

Carlin had been born under conditions somewhat bordering on poverty near Frankfort, Kentucky, July 18, 1789.

In 1800, on the death of his father, he came to Illinois and tried farming in an attempt to sustain the family.

During the war of 1812, he enlisted and saw considerable service under General Howard.

In 1814 he married Rebecca Hewitt and, after living in Madison county for four years, removed to Monroe county becoming a pioneer



settler at Carrollton, then the Monroe county seat, but now the metropolis of Greene.

He was the first sheriff at Carrollton and early displayed that acute interest in Democratic politics which, later, carried him to the executive chair.

February 24, 1834, he was given further political recognition by appointment from President Andrew Jackson, as receiver of United States public moneys—a position which had been a stepping stone to many pioneer Democrats of our state.

### **SMITH FOLLOWERS ENTER**

The Carlin administration, among other interesting things, was marked by the Mormon entry to Illinois, with the followers of Joseph Smith rapidly swelling to a population of 20,000, most of them settling in Nauvoo and vicinity.

At the expiration of his term as governor, Thomas Carlin retired to his farm but returned to political life for a short time in 1849, serving an unexpired term in the legislature.

He passed away at Carrollton, February 14, 1852.

## **THIS DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR LIVED IN MANY PARTS OF STATE**

Thomas Ford well has been described as "one of Illinois' really great governors."

Coming to the executive position in 1842 at a time of long continued financial disaster, he stood like a rock against repudiation of debts which was being vigorously demanded by many legislators and advocated by a large section of the populace.

The conditions which confronted Ford when he took office have been described in his own "History of Illinois" in the following language:

"The treasury was bankrupt; the revenues were insufficient. The people were unable and unwilling to pay higher taxes. The state has borrowed itself out of all credit.

"A debt of nearly fourteen millions of dollars had been contracted for the canal, railroads and other purposes.

"The currency of the state had been annihilated; there was not over two or three hundred thousand dollars in good money in the pockets of the whole people, which occasioned a general inability to pay taxes.

"The whole people were indebted to the merchants, nearly all of whom were indebted to the banks or to foreign merchants, and the banks owed everybody, and none were able to pay."

As a matter of fact, Governor Ford underestimated the state debt which had confronted him on his inauguration, as the official archives of Illinois show that the correct amount was \$15,657,970.

### **A GLOOMY OUTLOOK**

"Not unlike the situation which confronted Henry Horner, ninety years later," perhaps you say.

But certainly it was not an inviting picture to meet a governor at the very beginning of his term.

The new executive went at his problems with vigor.

In his first message to the thirteenth general assembly, then meeting at Springfield, he said:

“Let it be known in the first place that no oppressive or exterminating taxation is to be resorted to. In the second, we must convince our creditors and the world that the disgrace of repudiation is not countenanced among us, that we are honest and mean to pay as soon as we are able.”

Ford decided that one of the first steps to be taken to restore the state's credit was the completion, long delayed, of the costly Illinois and Michigan canal.

He called to his conference board Justin Butterfield, well-known Chicago lawyer who already had gained considerable reputation as consulting counsel for various banks.

Plans were devised and put through a somewhat unwilling legislature, which went a long way toward saving the financial structure of Illinois and to restore it to good grace in the money markets of the world.

### **THE TERRIBLE DRAMA OF NAUVOO**

But, by all odds, the intensely interesting event of Ford's decidedly eventful administration was the slaughter of the Mormons at Nauvoo.

A good deal of the blame for this tragedy has been placed at the door of Thomas Ford but, as this history is one of the Illinois Democracy and not of general events, I prefer to leave that chapter in the hands of other historians who have written so much about it.

To the mind of the present writer, the pros and cons of the drama of Nauvoo in which Joseph and Hyrum Smith lost their lives, are best presented by my old friend, Thomas Rees, lamented publisher of the Illinois State Register of Springfield, in his review published by the Illinois Historical Society, and by Governor Ford, himself, in his “History of Illinois.”

### **A STATESMAN WITH WANDERLUST**

In addition to his many other distinguishing attributes, Thomas Ford appears to have been a great wanderer and, at one time or other

in his public or private career, resided in many parts of Illinois, including Chicago.

Born of brave but decidedly poor parentage at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, December 5, 1800, the son of Robert and Elizabeth Ford, his family had already settled at New Design, then in Randolph county, and had rented a farm.

Like Lincoln, young Ford did most of his early studying at home by candle light.

But he was determined to get an education and finally succeeded in scraping together enough money to take a year's course at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky.

In 1823 he was admitted to the bar.

An Andrew Jackson enthusiast, he went to St. Louis in 1824 and became associate editor of a newspaper advocating the election of Jackson to the presidency.

In 1825 Ford removed to Belleville and gained considerable practice as a lawyer.

But the following year, he journeyed on to Galena where his shingle remained for the next thirty-six months.

In 1829 he decided to try his fortunes in Quincy and, that same year, Governor Ninian Edwards appointed him state's attorney to which position he was reappointed.

In 1835 a new judicial district was created consisting of "Peoria and all territory north thereof."

Ford was appointed that same year, judge of this new circuit.

In 1837 he was elected first municipal judge of Chicago, then in its infancy.

On February 15, 1841 he was placed on the supreme bench of the state, serving until August 1, 1842.

### NOMINATION DUE TO DEATH

His nomination to the governorship in 1842 was due to the death of Adam W. Snyder who originally had been named the Democratic candidate in opposition to former Governor Joseph Duncan, who had gone over to the Whigs and was the nominee of that party.

After a campaign of much interest Ford won out by a majority of 8,100.

He was a close friend of "Long" John Wentworth.

On leaving the executive chair, Ford went to Peoria to again take up the practice of the law, and it was generally understood that he, who had done so much to restore the credit of his state, left the office a virtual bankrupt.

The closing years of his life largely were devoted to the writing of his "History of Illinois"—rather a dubious way in which to restore one's finances.

He died at Peoria November 3, 1850, before his now well-known history was completed.

Edited by General James Shields, it was published in 1854—four years after Ford's demise.

A monument to his memory has been erected at Peoria by the state that he served so well.

## **A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION OF PRONOUNCED ABILITY**

The official record of the Illinois Democracy, past and present, is one in which there are few things of which any member of our party need be ashamed, many things of which he well may be proud.

And, while the administration headed by Augustus C. French (1846-1853) was devoid of much of the drama that had characterized prior Democratic regimes, it was one notable for a great record of construction.

Augustus C. French was the first man in the history of Illinois to be twice elected to the governor's chair.

His first term had been shortened by nearly a year, as a result of the adoption of the constitution of 1848, which provided that a governor was to be chosen in November, 1849 and in November of each fourth year thereafter, and that, hereafter, all governors should take office in the January succeeding such election.

He largely was responsible for the adoption of that constitution, which, undoubtedly, marked a forward step in Illinois government, but the larger and more important feature of his administration was the further restoration of the state's credit by persistent adherence to and amplification of the policies of non-repudiation which had been advocated and fostered in the preceding Ford incumbency.

When French first was sworn into office, the Mexican war still was under way and he proved of great assistance to the national government by the rapid-fire manner in which he assembled Illinois troops and got them to the front.

His first term was so satisfactory that there was a very general demand for his renomination, although it would require the setting aside of long-continued precedent.



His party cheerfully responded to this demand and French was renominated and triumphantly re-elected.

It was during his term that the famous Illinois Central railroad grant was passed.

### **SHIELDS ELIGIBILITY ATTACKED**

It was during French's second term that the historic three-way struggle between Sidney S. Breese, John A. McClernand, and General James Shields for senatorial seat, took place.

Breese had resigned from the supreme bench, January 1, 1843, to accept a place in the United States senate.

With the expiration of his senatorial term in 1849, he was a candidate for re-election and, at first, it was supposed that he would have little trouble in this regard at the hands of a legislature that was heavily Democratic, because his services at Washington had been generally satisfactory.

But a considerable number of the legislators early showed a disposition to favor John A. McClernand.

Then a somewhat new figure entered the struggle in the person of General James Shields, who had been invalided home from the Mexican War desperately wounded.

In nearly all generations, the soldier hero has had tremendous appeal, and this proved true in the case of Shields, who finally, was elected by the general assembly.

But, even with his election, he found the path still blocked as serious question was raised as to his eligibility on account of his being a native of Ireland.

The matter was not solved until Governor French had called a special session on the legislature, and Shields' ineligibility had been removed by law.

### **A HANDSOME GOVERNOR**

Impressive personality ever had been an asset in attaining political favor, and Augustus C. French certainly had this in marked degree.

The wife of a prominent Chicago Democrat, visiting the state capitol in the early part of the present century, on viewing the portraits of

former Illinois governors, expressed the opinion that "French was by far the handsomest."

He is reputed to have been as charming in his everyday greetings and to contemporaries, as he was great in his constructive qualifications.

Born at Hill, New Hampshire, August 2, 1808, he had been orphaned by the death of his father while still a youth.

After attending district school, he obtained his higher education at Dartmouth college.

Admitted to the bar in 1823, he journeyed to Illinois and took up residence at Albion, but removed to Paris in 1825.

In 1837 he became a member of the legislature and, a close friend of Stephen A. Douglas. Through the influence of the latter, he was appointed receiver of United States moneys, in 1839, with headquarters at Palestine, in Crawford county.

In the campaign of 1844, he was a presidential elector on the Polk and Dallas ticket.

### **PROFESSOR AT McKENDREE**

After laying aside the duties of the longest term ever spent at the executive desk up to that time, in 1854 he became professor of law at McKendree college.

He was a delegate to and one of the leading figures in the constitutional convention of 1862.

The end came to him peacefully at Lebanon, Illinois, September 4, 1868.



## **THE LAST OF A GREAT LINE OF PRE-CIVIL WAR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS**

While unnoticed by all but a few of the more observant of party leaders, conditions were arising in Illinois during the early fifties that were going to mean that Joel Aldrich Matteson was to be the last of a great line of pre-civil war Democratic governors.

The slavery question, long discussed and often pushed into the background, was becoming more and more of a vital issue and one that well-nigh inevitably could find its permanent arbitrament only in the blood of hundred of thousands of brave men of north and south.

But if, as was predicted by a Republican enthusiast at the time of the election of Bissell in 1856, Joel Aldrich Matteson had been destined to pass into history as the last of all Democratic governors, the Illinois Democracy still would have had permanent reason to be proud of a splendid succession of notable men that had done much in guiding the destinies of their state from the installation of Ninian Edwards as territorial governor in 1809 till close of the Matteson administration in 1857.

### **AN ERA OF GREAT PROSPERITY**

The four years of the Matteson regime (1853-1857) were among the most prosperous that our state ever has known, far more fruitful than any that had gone before, and, considering the smaller general opportunities that then prevailed, comparable even to the great and now lamented boom that characterized the years just before the tremendous crash of 1929.

Unlike nearly all his predecessors, who had been lawyers, Matteson was a man of business devoid of professional training, but successfully familiar with the contracting line.

It is no criticism of the legal profession to write that Matteson's early training in the field of construction was of great service to the state in a four-year period which was marked by building operations such as Illinois never had known before—not only public works, but great railway systems and manufacturing and mercantile establishments erected, for the most part, by private citizens and out of private funds.

### **CHICAGO SURGES AHEAD**

Under the Matteson administration, general credit was greatly aided by the fact that the state indebtedness was reduced by nearly five million dollars.

The population of Chicago increased more than 80 per cent during the four years, and imposing business structures began to arise, day after day, by the side of the great lakes.

Railway mileage in the state, during the Matteson term of governor, increased from a scant 513 miles to 2,860.

The population of Illinois, as a whole, doubled and we passed into fourth place in the galaxy of the states.

Commerce increased by leaps and bounds, and the wealth of our commonwealth grew from approximately \$135,000,000 in 1851 to more than \$350,000,000 five years later.

Among the railroads that so notably increased their mileage or were constructed during the term were the Illinois Central, the Rock Island, the Chicago and Alton, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy.

### **FREE SCHOOL SYSTEM**

But it was not only for the vast development in commercial and industrial lines, that the Matteson administration was noted.

In 1855, largely under the skillful guidance of the governor, the free school law was adopted and which, with comparatively few changes, has remained the basic system through the intervening years.

Institutions of higher learning also developed apace.

### **PROHIBITION IS PROPOSED**

Incidentally, it may be stated that during the Matteson term, prohibition first came to the front as an important political issue.

In 1855, the general assembly enacted legislation based largely on the Maine laws and which would have made the state "dry" if a majority of the voters supported the proposition at a referendum election. This provision for submission at a referendum, had been inserted in the bill as an ammendment.

But the referendum resulted in a decidedly large "wet" majority and, so, prohibition went down to its first official defeat in Illinois.

### **NATIVE OF EMPIRE STATE**

Joel Aldrich Matteson was the first native son of New York to reach the Illinois governorship, having been born at Watertown, August 2, 1808.

His father had come from the famous cathedral town of Canterbury, England, and was quite wealthy. Joel was the only son.

The future governor's first business venture was in 1827, when, at the age of 19, he journeyed to Prescott, Canada, and opened a general store which proved reasonably profitable.

But, at the end of a year, he sold out at a fair figure and returned to Watertown, where he attended academy and also taught school.

Later, he served two terms as teacher at Brownville, New York, and then became superintendent of construction of a railway line that was being built in South Carolina.

### **SETTLES NEAR JOLIET**

In 1833 he moved to Illinois, settling in Kendall county, near Joliet.

He removed to the latter city in 1836 and, two years later, obtained several important contracts in connection with the construction of the Illinois-Michigan canal, which work he pushed with much energy.

Early taking an interest in Illinois Democratic politics, in 1842, he was elected to the state senate, serving as chairman of the finance committee, an experience which served him in good stead when called to the governor's desk.

On his retirement from office he resumed his activities in the general business world and, for several years, served as president of the Chicago and Alton railway.

He died in Chicago, January 31, 1873, at the age of 65 years.





## **ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY MEETS FIRST DEFEAT IN STATE CAMPAIGN**

While there were rumblings of the coming storm early in 1856 and there already had been several important defections from the party lines, a large majority of the recognized leaders of the Illinois Democracy remained quite confident that the success which had come to the party banners in all preceeding campaigns would come to it again that year.

Their optimism, while not justified by subsequent events, was excusable.

Recent Democratic administrations had been especially capable.

The state was doing well, with its credit restored and the average citizen decidedly prosperous.

"Surely, the people will vote to keep good times going!" was a quite common answer by party leaders to less optimistic lieutenants who might venture the opinion that things did not look so rosy as usual for their party.

Writing in 1935, it may be remarked that in virtually every election, in every state, during the present century, good times or bad times have been a determining factor of a campaign.

But in 1856 it was different.

The intensive question of whether or not slavery should continue in these United States was coming to a point where it dimmed all ordinary economic issues.

### **ENTHUSIASTIC CONVENTION**

There were even more than the ordinary enthusiasms when the Democratic state convention was called to order in Springfield at eleven A.M. of May Day, 1856.

Stephen A. Douglas, whose great story is dealt with in another

chapter, had become a figure of vast popularity throughout the nation and every mention of his name was greeted with thunderous applause.

The Democracy of Cook county was just coming into its own as a factor in party affairs, and when Thomas Dyer of Chicago, one of the pioneer Democratic leaders of that city, was introduced as permanent chairman, he was given an ovation lasting several minutes.

There was little doubt from the beginning as to who the standard bearer would be, for Colonel William A. Richardson of Quincy was an intimate friend of Douglas, whose influence was paramount, and it was known that he favored the nomination of the distinguished gentleman from Adams county.

The ticket, headed by Richardson, was a strong one in every respect, including such popular party figures as Hamilton and Snyder and Moore and Casey, and the campaign that followed was conducted with all the old-time vigor.

### MEETINGS ARE CROWDED

Close research of the files of the press of the period shows that the campaign crowds that year were even larger than usual, and that there was no lack of attendance at any of the many Democratic rallies held throughout the state—rallies, by the way, that almost invariably were preceded by colorful torchlight parades.

For reasons that are not altogether apparent to a writer covering the story nearly eighty years later, most of the speakers, including even the state candidates themselves, were disposed to stress national rather than local issues.

That was the year of the very interesting three-way presidential fight between Buchanan, Democrat; Fremont, Republican; and Fillmore; the latter running on what was officially designated as the "American ticket."

Buchanan won out with 1,838,109 votes and 174 presidential electors.

Fremont, the first national standard bearer of his party, was second with a vote of 1,341,264 and 114 electors.

Fillmore had 874,584 votes, but only 8 electors.

But in Illinois it was different!

Returns were much slower in coming in than now is the case and, while, even on the night of the election, there had been rumors that the Republicans had won, old Democrats hardly could believe their eyes when the official returns showed that Bissell and not Richardson was to be governor, and that their entire state ticket had gone down to defeat.

The Illinois Democracy, so long a party of "ins," had become a party of "outs."



## **NO CONVINCING BASIS FOUND FOR MANY GRAFT CHARGES MADE AFTER BISSELL WON**

Partisan politics was no more polite in the years before the Civil War than it has been in several subsequent periods.

It has been more or less trite for incoming administrations to charge graft and maladministration of funds against predecessors that were of opposite party faith.

Charges of graft, especially in the awarding of state contracts, against Joel A. Matteson and some of his Democratic predecessors, were quite frequent during the first Republican regime, under William H. Bissell.

Some historians have dignified these charges by dealing with them at considerable length.

The present author will not do so.

He has made close study of the available archives of that period, and has failed to find any convincing evidence of maladministration.

There undoubtedly had been considerable waste of public funds during those earlier years—but that, more or less, has been a characteristic of American politics in all generations, and in all states.

Joel Matteson, large figure in the general contracting business, if judged by present-day ethics, may have been unwise in permitting firms with which he was identified to accept contracts on which payment of state funds indirectly was concerned, but this was quite in keeping with the custom of the times.

Nor is there any scrap of real evidence that the state of Illinois was overcharged, or lost anything, through those contracts.

Perhaps the best proof in justification of exoneration is found in the fact that, although the charges of graft frequently were touched on

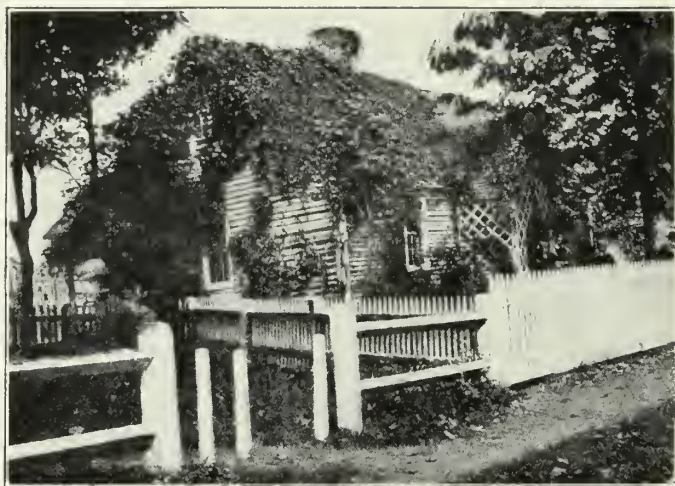


by Republican speakers in the 1858 campaign, the voters, themselves, declined to believe them.

Despite the Bissell victory two years earlier, the Illinois Democracy staged a partial comeback in 1858 and returned Stephen A. Douglas to the United States Senate over Abraham Lincoln.

Moreover, that November, while the Republican nominee for state treasurer was victorious, it was by a plurality of only 3,821 votes—one of the smallest in the history of Illinois.





BIRTHPLACE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS  
BRANDON, VERMONT

## **THE YEAR IN WHICH DOUGLAS WAS ELECTED AND LINCOLN DEFEATED**

Discussing the famous struggle in which he had defeated William McKinley of Ohio, for speaker of the national house in 1889, Thomas Brackett Reed of Maine, several years later, said:

“The real victor in that contest was McKinley for, by becoming chairman of the ways and means committee, his path to the presidential chair was opened, while my election to the speaker’s chair eliminated me as a presidential possibility.”

History relates many similar instances, and the Illinois campaign of 1858 is illustrative of these.

This was the year of the memorable Lincoln-Douglas battle for a United States senatorship, dealt with in other pages.

If Lincoln, instead of Douglas, had been the victor and had gained the senatorial seat for which he long had been grooming himself, he might not have been a presidential nominee two years later, and the story not only of Illinois, but of the whole nation, might have been decidedly different.

So far as the Illinois Democracy was concerned, it was a year of part victory and part defeat.

### **CHASTENED SPIRIT MANIFEST**

The Democratic state convention which was called to order at Springfield, by State Chairman Alexander Starne, was a much less boisterous gathering than the one which had preceded it two years earlier.

It was not devoid of enthusiasm as mark the great outburst of applause which had greeted the introduction of Former Treasurer John Moore of Bloomington as permanent chairman.

But, as a Democratic writer of the period expressed it: "It was a decidedly sober gathering, chastened, apparently, by the unexpected defeat of 1856."

A well-known Democrat of Springfield, William B. Foudey, was nominated for state treasurer, while the perennially popular, Augustus C. French, former governor, was placed on the ticket for superintendent of public instruction—an office which had been created only four years earlier.

In the campaign that ensued, however, the state ticket was somewhat lost sight of in the tremendous interest that was taken in the Lincoln-Douglas struggle.

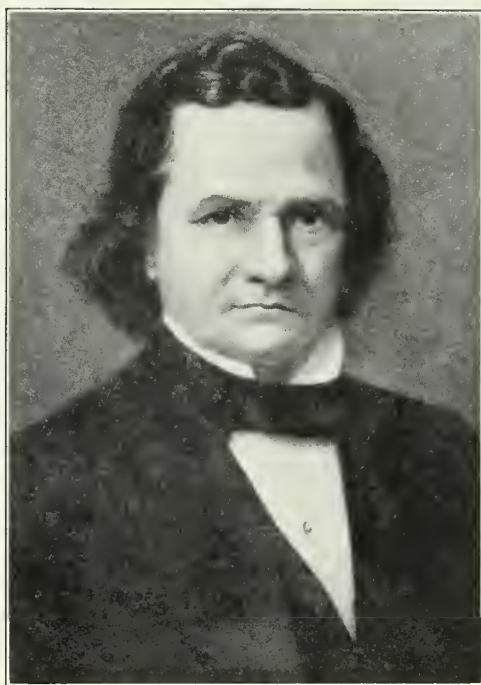
The state candidates were beaten, but the Illinois Democracy succeeded in again capturing the general assembly and in re-electing Stephen Arnold Douglas to a third senatorial term that was to be ended by death less than three years later.

### **MORRISON IS SPEAKER**

One of the greatest of Illinois Democrats, William R. Morrison of Monroe county, the well-beloved "Horizontal Bill," was speaker of the historic Twenty-first general assembly which re-elected Douglas.







STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

## **STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND HIS INFLUENCE ON ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY**

There is an oft-quoted saying that "Vermont is the most glorious spot on the face of this globe for a man to be born in, provided he emigrates when he is very young."

The career of Stephen Arnold Douglas is intelligible only if it is viewed against the background of his New England boyhood, his young manhood passed on the prairies of Illinois, and his wedded life with the gentle culture of Southern womanhood. The records of the Douglass family are quite interesting. The first of the family to cross the ocean was William Douglass, who was born in Scotland, and who married Mary Ann Marble, of Northampton. Just when these people left Old England is not known, but it is recorded that a son was born in Boston in 1645. Soon after this event the family migrated farther west and settled in New London, in the Pequot country.

A little more than one hundred years after this, Benajah Douglass, one of their descendants, pushed still farther into the interior and settled in Rensselaer County, in the province of New York. The marriage of Benajah Douglass to Martha Arnold, a descendant of Governor William Arnold, of Rhode Island, has given rise to the idea among certain of his admirers that there were Celtic qualities in the grandson, for the Arnolds were of Welsh stock. Tradition has made Benajah Douglass a soldier in the Revolutionary War, but the first authentic records begin with the year 1795 when he removed with his family to Brandon, Vermont. The family settled on a farm of four hundred acres, which Benajah must have cultivated with some degree of skill, since it yielded an ample competency.

### THE ELDER DOUGLAS

To Benajah and Martha Arnold Douglass was born the father of the subject of our sketch, Stephen A. Douglass, Sr., who grew to young manhood in Brandon, graduated at Middlebury College, and became a physician by profession. He married Sally Fisk, the daughter of a well-to-do farmer in Brandon. To this couple two children were born, the younger of whom, born on April 23, 1813, was given the family name of Stephen Arnold Douglass. A sudden stroke cut short the career of the young doctor soon after the birth of his son, and the widow removed to the farm which she and her brother, who was then unmarried, had inherited from their father. This bachelor uncle took the place of father to the young man, and Stephen had no reason to bemoan the fate which left him dependent upon his uncle's generosity. He went to the district school on the Brandon turnpike and after his school hours work and play alternated, as was the custom among the farmer folk.

Young Stephen learned to be industrious and not to despise honest labor. He fell heir to a wealth of inspiring local tradition. The quiet valleys and the uplands of the Green Mountains had echoed with the noise of battle during the Revolutionary War, and many a legend of adventure, border warfare, and personal heroism were still current among the mountain folk. The battles of Bennington, Ticonderoga, and Plattsburg were still talked about at the fireside gatherings.

### HIS EARLY SURROUNDINGS

In this surrounding young Douglass spent his boyhood and became imbued with some of the principles for which he so tenaciously fought in later years. Stephen was nearing his fourteenth birthday when his uncle brought home a bride. The birth of a son and heir was Stephen's undoing. While the uncle regarded Stephen with undiminished affection, he was now much more emphatically an outsider in the family. An indefinable something had come between the uncle and his nephew, which was brought to an acute head when Stephen requested to be sent to the academy at Brandon to prepare to go to college. His uncle firmly but kindly informed him that he could not further look after the boy's education, and advised him to give up the notion of going to college and to remain on the farm. Resentfulness at this turn of affairs caused

Stephen to make up his mind to live no longer under his uncle's roof, and much against the wishes of his mother apprenticed himself to a cabinet maker in Middlebury.

Here he found companionship and spent his idle hours with young fellows who had a taste for politics and who kindled in the young cabinet maker a confirmed admiration for Andrew Jackson. He began to read all that he could lay his hands on, particularly political works dealing with his hero. In after years he was heard to say that the happiest days of his life were spent in the cabinet maker's shop, in Middlebury.

Becoming dissatisfied because he had been requested to perform some menial task about the home, he terminated his apprenticeship in Middlebury, returned to Brandon, and entered the shop of Deacon Caleb Knowlton, also a cabinet maker. From this apprenticeship he quit in less than a year on the excuse of ill health. It is evident that he had lost his taste for cabinet work, as he never again expressed a wish to follow a trade.

### STUDENT AT BRANDON

He returned to live with his mother, who in some manner found the means to send him to Brandon Academy, where he enrolled with the avowed purpose of preparing for a professional career. His mother at about this time was married to Gehazi Granger, and moved to the state of New York. His academic course was not long interrupted by this migration, for Canandaigua Academy was within easy reach of his home. Here he studied Latin and Greek, made considerable improvement, took an active part in the doings of the literary societies of the academy, and distinguished himself by his readiness in debate. He was an ardent defender of Democracy against the rising tide of anti-Masonry which was threatening the political moorings of the state of New York. Douglass was now maturing rapidly. His ideals were clearer and his tastes more pronounced, and it is very probable that he already was forming his plans to make politics his career. He entered the office of some local attorneys while continuing his studies in the academy and began the study of law. In the spring of 1833 the lure of the West seized the young man, and against the remonstrances of his mother and rela-

tives he started out with no ultimate goal in view. Tradition says that the last word he said to his mother as he left was, "I am not coming back until I am on my way to Congress," and this promise he fulfilled to the letter.

### **HIS CLEVELAND RESIDENCE**

In Cleveland he found a friend in Sherlock J. Andrews, Esq., a successful attorney. Liking the city, and the requirements by the Ohio Bar being less rigorous, Douglass determined to stay in this pleasant spot. Mr. Andrews encouraged him in this purpose and offered him the use of his office and law library. Stephen hoped to gain admission to the bar in a year, and with characteristic energy began his studies, but malarial typhoid put an end to his efforts for the time being. For four weary months he kept his bed, and his life was despaired of many times, but the first frosts of the fall set him on his feet again. After paying all his bills he had forty dollars left, and he resolved to push on farther into the new and undiscovered West. From Cleveland he went by canal to Portsmouth, on the Ohio River, and from there to Cincinnati, from which place he drifted to Louisville and then to St. Louis. Here he endeavored to find work which would enable him to pay his expenses and continue his law studies. Having no letters of introduction to smooth his path, he was unable to make connections and became convinced that he must seek a smaller community. He had been informed that Jacksonville, Illinois, was a likely spot, and he resolved to try his luck in that quarter.

### **HIS ARRIVAL AT JACKSONVILLE**

A primitive stagecoach took him to Jacksonville. To one born and bred among the hills of Vermont, the vast expanse of rolling prairie which met his gaze as the stagecoach wended its way across the intervening miles must have been a revelation, for years afterwards when he had become famous, he said, "I found my mind liberalizing and my opinions enlarging when I got on these broad prairies with only the heavens to bound my vision, instead of having them subscribed by the little ridges that surrounded the valleys where I was born."

He arrived in Jacksonville without a friend and with only a dollar



and a quarter in his pocket. This little village was composed of log cabins and was one of the outposts of civilized Illinois. It had a population of about one thousand, and there were eleven lawyers, or at least those who called themselves such, located in the village. Here again he met with disappointment, for he could find no labor to his liking, and he was forced to sell a few school books that he had brought with him in order to procure money upon which to live. Murray McConnell, a lawyer, advised him to go to Pekin and open a law office, and assured him that a license was a matter of no consequence, since anyone could practice before a Justice of the Peace, and he could procure the license at a later date. So again Douglass took up his travels. Arriving at Meredosia he waited a week for the boat upstream, as there was no other available route to Pekin. Then came the intelligence that the only boat which plied between these points had blown up at Alton.

After paying his lodging to the tavern keeper he found that he had fifty cents left in his pocket. Necessity being the mother of invention, young Douglass decided to teach school, but Meredosia being a thriftless and forlorn settlement, it was necessary that he go somewhere else. A kind-hearted farmer befriended him that night and took him next morning to Exeter, where there was prospect of securing a school. However, disappointment awaited him here, and hearing that there were possibilities in Winchester, ten miles distant, he set off on foot with his coat over his arm, leaving his trunk at Meredosia.

The morning after his arrival at Winchester he came upon a crowd in the public square and learned that an auction sale of personal effects was about to take place, but that they could not find a clerk who was able to keep a record of the sales and draw the notes. The administrator, noticing young Douglass, asked him if he could "cipher," and the impatient bystanders "allowed that he might do," so he was given a trial. Young Douglass proved equal to the task, and in two days was in possession of five dollars for his pains. The village storekeeper, who also hailed from Vermont, presented Douglass to several citizens who wished to see a school opened in town, and by the first Monday in December he had a subscription list of forty scholars, each of whom had paid three dollars for three months' tuition. He secured lodging with the friendly village storekeeper, and here Douglass spent his even-



ings, devoting some hours to his law books and undoubtedly more to comfortable chats with his host and talkative neighbors around the stove.

### **HIS FIRST POLITICAL SPEECH**

A lyceum had just been formed in the village and this was his diversion. In this lyceum he made his first political speech, defending Andrew Jackson against one Josiah Lamborn, an attorney from Jacksonville.

When the first of March came he closed the schoolhouse door on his career as a pedagogue and went to Jacksonville where he presented himself before a Justice of the Supreme Court for license to practice law. After a short examination he was duly admitted to the bar of Illinois, even though he still lacked a month of being twenty-one years of age. What he lacked in technical knowledge he planned to make up by experience.

In Jacksonville Stephen A. Douglass began to give promise of the greatness which was later to be his. He entered into society, was liked by the young people because of his jovial nature. The mothers liked his animation and ready gallantry, while the fathers found him equally responsive on the more serious matters of conversation. One of the first friendships which the young lawyer formed in his new home was with S. S. Brooks, editor of the Jacksonville News. The intimacy which followed this acquaintanceship was of great value to the young man, who needed the advertising which the editor was in a position to give. Their common bond was in their devotion to the fortunes of Andrew Jackson, and together they labored to consolidate the Democratic forces of Morgan County with results which must have surprised even the most sanguine.

### **HE ENTERS CAMPAIGN**

The state elections were nearing, and President Jackson's high-handed acts had alarmed many of those who had supported him in 1832. The state election would undoubtedly turn on national issues. The Whigs were noisy, combative, and confident. Largely through the efforts of Brooks and Douglass a mass meeting of the Democrats of Morgan

County was called, and it was on this occasion that Stephen A. Douglass made his debut on a political stage. A well-known Democrat was to have presented a set of resolutions endorsing the national administration. The courthouse was full to overflowing, with excitement running high, for the opposition within the Democratic party was vehement in its protest to cut and dried resolutions commending Jackson. The afore-said well-known Democrat hesitated to face this audience, and, placing the manuscript in Stephen's hands, asked him to read it. Douglass not only read the resolutions, but he defended them with such vigorous logic and with such caustic criticism of the Whigs and half-hearted Democrats that he carried the meeting with him in a tumultuous approval of the course of Andrew Jackson, past and present.

### **DROP LAST LETTER OF NAME**

At the age of twenty-two Stephen A. Douglass was elected by the state Legislature to the office of State's Attorney for the First Judicial District. This was his first reward for his political activities. While he averred that he neither coveted the office nor believed himself fit for it, he accepted, nevertheless. At this time he dropped the superfluous "s" from his name—"for simplicity's sake"—and set out on his judicial circuit. Astride his horse, with a book under his arm, there was little in his face or figure to command attention. He measured scarcely over five feet and weighed less than one hundred ten pounds. His chief asset, however, was a large fund of Yankee shrewdness and good nature.

His travels over the circuit threw him into contact with a large number of lawyers and also brought him into prominence before the public. Court days were holidays in rural Illinois at that time, and the primitive court rooms were filled to overflowing with the people who flocked in from the surrounding communities. The more his fellow practitioners saw of him, the more respect they had for him. His wholesome frankness disarmed opponents, and his generosity made them fixed friends.

### **ADVOCATES CONVENTION SYSTEM**

At this time a new trend in politics was introduced to the people of the state. Heretofore, anyone who desired might announce himself

as a candidate for office, choose his party affiliation, and begin his campaign. It might be that several would announce for the same office, while the opposition would confine itself to one man, who invariably was elected because of the splitting of the vote among the larger number on the opposite ticket. Organization was necessary in order to stop this fault, but organization was abhorrent, because it necessitated the subordination of the individual to the centralized authority of a group. Certain Democrats, foremost among whom was Stephen A. Douglas, took the first step in the effective control of nominations by party in Illinois. With his friend Brooks, of the News, Douglas prevailed upon the Democrats of Morgan County to put themselves on record as favoring a state convention to choose delegates to the national convention in 1836. Several other counties adopted the suggestion, and the movement culminated in a well-attended convention at Vandalia in April, 1835. Among the delegates from Morgan County was young Douglas, and the signs pointed to the fact that he was in league with others to execute some piece of strategy within the party.

Early in the session it was proposed that the convention should proceed to nominate not only presidential electors but candidates for state offices as well. This provoked a storm of protest, but the next day it was again proposed. Douglas is reported to have said that he had seen the workings of this sort of a convention in New York, and he knew it to be the only way to successfully handle elections. The meeting broke up in disorder, and the party was left with divided counsels.

### DOUGLAS GOES ON TICKET

A convention was called at Jacksonville which succeeded in nominating one candidate for each elective office, and at the same time secured the support of the disappointed aspirants, which under the circumstances was in itself a triumph. The campaign got under way with a great deal of vigor. It was found necessary for some one to be placed on the ticket who was ready and willing and able to debate the questions of the day with the leaders of the Whig Party. One of the nominees for State Representative was persuaded to withdraw, and Douglas was placed on the ticket. The Whigs at once attacked this procedure because Douglas had at one time told his people not to vote

for anyone who had not been nominated by caucus. There were stalwart Democrats who refused to put on "the caucus collar." Douglas and his convention were roundly abused, but the young politician doubtless replied that the rank and file had not yet become accustomed to the system.

The campaign was fought in the usual manner. Country stores were subsidized by the candidates and liquor liberally dispensed. The candidate who refused to treat was doomed. To speak from an improvised platform—"the stump"—to a boisterous throng of men who had accepted the orator's hospitality at the country store was no matter lightly to be undertaken, but this was the school in which Douglas must train. The election of all but one of the Democratic nominees was hailed as a vindication of the convention. At all events, the value of organization and discipline had been demonstrated, and the day of the professional politician and of the machine had dawned in the state of Illinois.

### IMPRESSIVE PUBLIC WORKS

Internal improvements, which were then sweeping the country, had forced many promises of the candidates in this election. The Legislature which met in December of 1836 is perhaps one of the most remarkable in the history of the state. A plan for internal improvement was presented by the young representative from Morgan County. He would have the state complete the Illinois and Michigan Canal and also improve the navigation of the Illinois and Wabash Rivers. He would build two railroads, bisecting the state in each direction, and for these purposes he would negotiate a loan for which he would pledge the credit of the state. He would get the interest payments by selling public lands which had been granted by the Federal Government for the purpose of constructing the Illinois and Michigan Canal. This was a very moderate proposal, but there was not the slightest prospect that moderate views would prevail. In the end, a bill was drawn which proposed to appropriate \$10,230,000 for public works. \$500,000 of this was for river improvements, and the remainder to be used in the construction of eight railroads. \$200,000 was given to those counties through which no railroad nor canal was to pass.

Douglas was opposed to this mammoth bill, but he knew that his



constituency favored it, and so he voted for it. This was only a part of the things which the Tenth General Assembly put through. However, there are pleasanter things about it, one of which was the removal of the State Capitol from Vandalia to Springfield.

### REGISTRAR AT SPRINGFIELD

Soon after the adjournment of the Legislature, Douglas resigned his seat in the House of Representatives and was appointed registrar of the Land Office in Springfield. His advent was noted by the Sangamo Whig-Journal in these words: "The Land Office at this place was opened on Monday last. We are told the *Little Man* from Morgan was perfectly astonished to find himself making money at the rate of from one to two hundred dollars a day." Evidently this Land Office was doing a thriving business. Douglas was now assured of a competency. Besides, as a resident of Springfield he was in close touch with the politics of the state and could wait until he was again promoted for conspicuous service to his party.

One of the haunts of young Douglas was the office of the Republican, a Democrat journal then edited by the Webers. He was a welcome visitor, and now and then undoubtedly furnished some editorials which caused comment among the politicians of Springfield. While he was seated in this office one day, the commissioners who were charged with the building of the new State House, having been aggrieved at an attack which the Republican had leveled at them concerning their expenditures, came down to administer a flogging to the editors for the attack. Sheriff Elkins, who seems to have been acting in an unofficial capacity, was stabbed, though not fatally, in this brawl. The Sangamo Journal played it up for all it was worth. However, public attention was diverted by the excitement of a state election.

### DEFENDS PARTY ORGANIZATION

The leading spirits in the reform movement held frequent consultations, and a Democratic state convention was called for December. Committees were appointed and each county was urged to send a delegation. On the committee to prepare an address to the voters was the name of Stephen A. Douglas, and he was the most vigilant defender of

the new organization. Before many weeks of the campaign had passed, Douglas was drawn into active service, and he was nominated for Congress, taking precedence over William L. May, who had already served a term in Congress. An experienced public servant had been set aside to gratify the ambition of a stripling, and there was much shaking of heads over the nomination.

Douglas' Whig opponent was Maj. John Todd Stuart. Douglas was eager to match himself against Stuart, and they started off together in a friendly contest. They often met in joint debate and many times occupied the same quarters at night. The rivals began the canvass good naturedly, but as the campaign wore on gave evidence of increasing irritability. Shortly before the election they met in joint debate in Springfield. In the course of his speech Douglas used language that offended his opponent, and Mr. Stuart, who was six feet tall and heavily built, promptly tucked Douglas' head under his arm and carried him around the square. In his efforts to secure his freedom, Douglas seized Stuart's thumb in his mouth and bit it vigorously, so that the Major carried a scar for many years.

### DOUGLAS IS DEFEATED

The district was so large, and means of communication so meager that it was several weeks before the results of the election were known, and the Whig candidate was declared to have been elected by a majority of thirty-five votes. Mr. Douglas refused to prosecute a contest and he suffered his first defeat.

Stephen A. Douglas then returned to his practice of law and formed a partnership with a Springfield attorney by the name of Urquhart, but as soon as the political pot began to boil he forsook his books, and we find him presiding over a Democratic county convention and lending a hand in the drafting of a platform. In November of 1839 he was called upon to answer a Whig who was making havoc of the Democratic program at a mass meeting at the courthouse, and there he encountered Abraham Lincoln, who was later to become his formidable opponent and who would compass the defeat of his ambitions which even at this time were undoubtedly forming in his mind. He was elected chairman of



the State Central Committee. Processions, torch-light parades, barbecues, and other noisy demonstrations of the Whigs were causing the Democrats no end of trouble. These demonstrations could not be lightly dismissed, for they were effective to an alarming degree in winning votes. This memorable campaign of 1840 won for Stephen A. Douglas the nickname "Little Giant." The victory of Van Buren over Harrison in Illinois was a personal triumph for Douglas, for the Democrats had suffered reverses elsewhere which emphasized the conspicuous fact that Illinois had been saved for the party by organization and leadership.

### BECOMES SECRETARY OF STATE

In 1840 Stephen A. Douglas was appointed Secretary of State to fill a vacancy. At that time this office was appointive, and the Governor the appointing officer. A Whig had been appointed Secretary several years before, and a Democrat had been elected Governor. Measures were finally set on foot to terminate Secretary Field's term of office by an act of the Legislature, and that gentleman promptly resigning, Governor Carlin appointed Douglas to fill the vacancy. In 1841, under pressure from the party leaders, a bill to reorganize the Supreme Court was driven through both houses of the Legislature, and at twenty-seven years of age Stephen A. Douglas became one of the new Judges.

The Mormons, who had been persecuted and driven out of Missouri, had now settled in Nauvoo, which was in the district allotted to young Douglas. Douglas at once became a firm friend, and while the Whigs coquetted with the Mormons, they were never able to overcome the influence which Stephen A. Douglas wielded over Joseph Smith. As a result, the Democratic party was the recipient of the Mormon vote.

The Democrats had nominated Adam W. Snyder as a candidate for Governor in 1844, but three months before the election he was removed by death, and Judge Thomas Ford was nominated to fill the vacancy in a caucus held in the office of the State Register, in Springfield. Under the guiding hand of Douglas the political game was played adroitly, and the Mormon and anti-Mormon factions were made to feel that the Democratic party was their friend, and Ford was elected Governor.

Young Douglas next attempted to secure the nomination for the

United States Senate. A protracted contest followed in the convention, during which nineteen ballots were taken. Douglas' chief competitor finally secured the nomination of the caucus by a majority of five votes. Meantime, changes were being made in the political map of Illinois. The census of 1840 gave the state seven Congressmen, and a reapportionment act was expected from the next Legislature. A gerrymander was the outcome. Friends of Stephen A. Douglas saw to it that a desirable district was carved out which included the most populous counties in his judicial circuit. A convention was called to meet at Griggsville, in Pike County, following the passage of the Reapportionment Act, and on the second ballot Judge Douglas was nominated as the candidate of the party for Congress.

### **ELECTED TO CONGRESS**

At first Douglas made a show of declining the nomination but yielded to the urgent solicitation of friends who made him believe he was the only Democrat who could carry the district. He burned his bridges behind him, resigned his office, and plunged into the thick of the battle.

His opponent was O. H. Browning, a Kentuckian by birth. The canvass was short, and Douglas so overworked himself that when election day came he was put to bed with a fever, from which he did not fully recover for months. Douglas had a majority of four hundred sixty-one votes, and this cheering news hastening his convalescence, he went to visit his mother at Canandaigua, thus fulfilling his declaration when he left there in 1833. He had every reason to be well satisfied with himself. A new chapter in his career was now opening. He was a Congressman at the age of thirty.

### **WANTED CANADA ANNEXED**

Mr. Douglas entered Congress for the first time in 1843. He was re-elected each biennium until 1846, when he made the race for Senator and was elected to that office for the term of six years.

During his service in the House of Representatives he was found fighting for the principles of extension of the territory of the United States. He opposed the joint occupancy of the Oregon Territory with England and was heard many times to make the statement that he hoped

to see the day when England would be driven from the North American continent and the United States extend from the Isthmus to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He opposed the recommendation that the northern boundary of this nation be set at the forty-ninth degree and used all his energies to secure the passage of the measure demanding that it be set at  $54^{\circ} 40'.$

He was also found trying in every way to secure the perpetuation of the Union by keeping the slavery question within its own bounds. He was particularly interested also in the securing of assistance from the Federal Government for the State of Illinois, especially in the granting of public lands to the Illinois Central Railroad.

### AT ODDS ON SLAVERY

On the matter of slavery, Mr. Douglas was ever at odds with many of his fellow members in Congress. He even now was looking toward the time when he might become President. Slavery was not profitable in the northern states, and the South was well aware of this fact. But Texas was clamoring for admission, Kansas was being bombarded with settlers demanding admission to the Union, border warfare was rampant in that state, and the Lawrence Massacre had set the nation by the ears. Every northern Abolitionist was demanding the overthrow of the right of the South to traffic in human lives. Mr. Douglas tried to placate both factions at every turn.

Mr. Douglas was the first exponent of the great principle which became so much a debatable ground in later years—that of “Squatter Sovereignty.” This question was of vast importance in his own state. Illinois was settled in the southern part largely by immigrants from Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee and the Carolinas, while the northern part was settled by those from the New England States, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. There was bitter antagonism between the sections. The settlement of the boundary line between Wisconsin and Illinois was one of the things which caused the young statesman much trouble. The original line as established by the Ordinance of 1787 bisected the state at the southern bend of Lake Michigan. But Congress had set the boundary at its present location, much to the chagrin of the northern tier of counties. Illinois was a debt-ridden state, while Wis-

consin was as yet unburdened. The northern contingent naively stated this fact as one reason why they should be permitted to vote on the question of which state they wished to enter. This was causing the politicians much trouble. The northern part was aligned against the southern, and an election was coming on which might endanger the status of the political parties. Douglas set himself to settle this question.

### **MOVES TO CHICAGO**

In 1847 he had moved to Chicago, and, foreseeing the future of this lake city, purchased real estate in the city. The Illinois Central Railroad was being fostered. He saw that the original proposal of the route from Galena to Cairo was too sectional and doubtless could not be forced through Congress, but by tying the line to Chicago he saw the possibility of securing large grants of national domain to the railroad, and to this end he toured the state. During the next session of Congress he succeeded in getting the measure through the Senate, but it was defeated in the House by the opposition of the Southern and Eastern representatives. Thereupon Douglas went on a trip through the South. He stopped at Mobile and there met certain railroad interests who were in dire straits. He proposed the coalition of their interests and met with a ready response.

In 1850 when he again presented his Illinois Central land grant bill, he had the support of these men from the Middle South, and the great trunk line from the Gulf to the Lakes was made possible. On September 17, 1850, the House passed the measure by a vote of one hundred one to seventy-five, and the Illinois Central Railroad came into its own. This action seemed to quell the distaste of the northern part of the state for the South and began to heal the bad feeling that had grown to be such a bugbear to the Senator from Illinois. His vision had been vindicated, and the influence of this man on the state of Illinois can never be rightly valued.

### **FOUGHT FOR WHAT HE WANTED**

Douglas was of that school which fought for what it wanted. When he returned to Chicago after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law he found the city in an uproar. Douglas had been called to New York on



private business when this bill was in debate. He had been promised that it would not be called while he was absent. While dining with some friends from Illinois he was informed that the bill had been ordered engrossed for a third reading. He at once left his business unfinished and returned to Washington, where he found that the bill had passed. However, some of his opponents had started the story that he had side-stepped the issue by his trip to New York. Chicago was radically anti-slave. He therefore was astonished to find the sentiment so strongly against him. Learning of a mass meeting to be held that evening, he determined to meet his detractors and refute their charges. He went to the meeting, mounted the platform, and publicly announced that he would speak from the same platform on the next evening and explain his stand. He was greeted with hisses and jeers but secured an adjournment until he could make his statement. He fought his battle, and when the smoke had cleared he introduced a series of resolutions which expressed the obligation of all good citizens to uphold the Constitution and all laws duly enacted by Congress in pursuance of the Constitution. It was passed without a dissenting vote, and Douglas had turned a defeat into victory.

### THAT FAMOUS CONTEST

In 1858 Mr. Douglas again went before his constituency with his claims for re-election, and his opponent was the lank, homely Abraham Lincoln. Douglas knew Lincoln of old and realized that he had a hard fight on his hands for the office he then held. He had also been advanced in 1856 by a group known as "Young America" as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, the plan for which he was steadily working, but a coalition of events had made it impossible for him to be nominated at this time. He then plunged into the battle in Illinois to be returned to the Senate. Douglas and Lincoln debated the questions of the hour over the most of the state. There is no need to enter into the details of this memorable campaign. Everyone has read of the addresses given during this series of debates and knows how first Douglas and then Lincoln would score in the hustings. But Douglas was still the great Democratic leader in the nation as well as his own state. While the Republicans elected their candidates for treasurer and superintend-

ent of public instruction; the Democrats were able to maintain a majority on joint ballot in the Legislature, and Douglas was re-elected to the Senate.

Then began more years of vigorous attempts on the part of Douglas and others to keep the slavery question in the background. But this was to no avail. The black problem would not down. The Southern wing was absolutely certain that there must be further territory in which slavery would be legalized, while the Abolitionists and the Northern Democrats were for keeping it where it was or abolishing it altogether. In these debates Douglas entered with his usual vigor. He was a forceful speaker and drew no lines as to the question. His every purpose was to placate the South and at the same time keep the North where he could command their respect and win the Presidency.

### CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENCY

Then came the memorable campaign of 1860. Douglas was again a candidate for the Democratic nomination, his third attempt at the plucking of the plum. The convention was held in Charleston, South Carolina. The party was sadly at odds over the eternal question of slavery. In order to hold their own in the North it was necessary for those above the Mason and Dixon line to see to it that the platform was so worded that there could be no chance for argument about the spread of the traffic. To those in the South there was the same determination to see to it that such a plank was not inserted. On this issue the great battle started. Douglas' leaders had made a good fight and the minority report of the platform committee was adopted. It was stated in the convention that the fate of the Democratic party and the preservation of the Union depended upon its adoption and by weight of argument was carried. Upon its adoption Alabama withdrew, followed by Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Texas and Arkansas. The remainder of the convention delegates, lacking the requisite two-thirds majority necessary for a nomination, adjourned, after a few futile ballots in which Douglas led his opponents, to meet in Baltimore. Meanwhile the Republicans had nominated Abraham Lincoln to lead their battle forces.



**ARGUES WITH DAVIS**

Between the dissolution of the Charleston convention and the reconvening at Baltimore, Douglas canvassed the situation and hot words were passed between the leaders of the South, headed by Jefferson Davis, and Douglas, in which he stated his belief that the South was headed for dismemberment of the Union. To this charge Davis responded that it was not a truth. No Northern Democrat could accept a nomination on a Southern platform, and no Southerner would accept such a place with a plank dictated by the North. So matters stood when the convention met again.

The situation was further complicated by the return of some of the seceding delegates demanding admission. Some states had sent contesting delegations, and a five days' battle ensued which finally narrowed down to the vote of the New York delegation of thirty-five votes. Douglas wrote to Dean Richmond: "If my enemies are determined to divide and destroy the party, and perhaps the country, rather than see me elected, and if the unity of the party can be preserved, and its ascendancy perpetuated by dropping my name and uniting upon some reliable non-intervention and Union-loving Democrat, I beseech you in consultation with my friends, to pursue that course which will save the country, without regard to my individual interests." On the third ballot Douglas was nominated and the Southern Democracy was alienated from him by the platform fight. They met in another convention and nominated John C. Breckinridge for the Presidency.

**DEFEATED BY LINCOLN**

The division of the Democracy could have but one result. Douglas was to taste defeat again, this time at the hands of his lanky antagonist from his own state, Abraham Lincoln. One thing was certain in all of his addresses. Whenever he was asked as to his attitude if Mr. Lincoln were elected and the South persisted in its objective of withdrawal from the Union, Mr. Douglas always replied that he stood for the preservation of the nation and would use every power at his command to force the South to remain. And he was true to his word. He it was who stood at the right hand of President Lincoln and held his hat while he received

the oath of office and made his address, and he it was who at all times stood back of the President in every effort to preserve the Union.

His defeat, together with the rigorous life he had lived, combined to shorten his days. In the spring of 1861 he returned to Chicago where he became ill, and on June 3rd, the soul of a great man and patriot passed on. To the last he would fight for the Union; even in his delirium he would make some assertion that the nation must be preserved. His last word to his boys, Robert and Stephen, was: "Tell them to obey the laws and support the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Douglas was twice married. In 1847 he was united with Martha Denny Martin, of Rockingham County, North Carolina. To them three children were born: Robert Martin and Stephen Arnold, and a daughter who died in infancy shortly after the death of the mother, which occurred January 23, 1853.

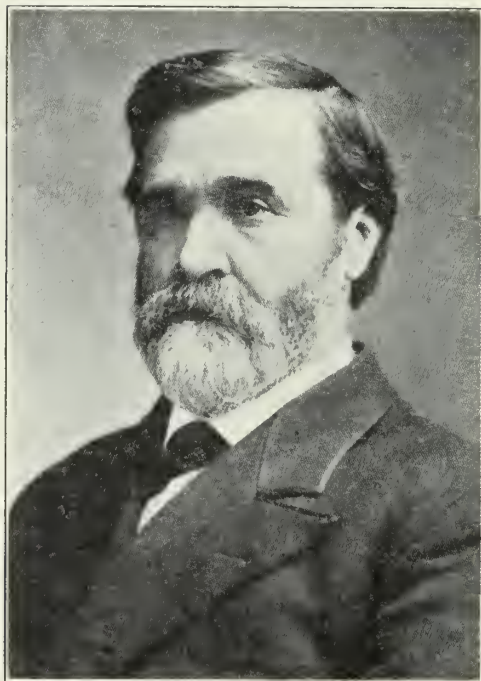
His second marriage was to Miss Adele Cutts, of Washington. To them one daughter was born, who, too, died in infancy.

### AN EVER-EVENTFUL LIFE

Thus we come to the close of a truly eventful life, and one that had much to do with the formative period of the great nation and the great state of which we are a part. Stephen Arnold Douglas was a Democrat first, last and all the time, and his every thought was for the proper aggrandizement of that party as well as his own ascendancy. His life has left an impress upon the party in Illinois such as no other man has ever exerted. His preceptor was Andrew Jackson, the "Old Hickory" of New Orleans fame, and his life was patterned after the hero of his dreams. Thus we leave him to his fame. On the shores of the beautiful lake in the city where he last made his home, his ashes are interred, and his tomb is a shrine of Democracy the nation over.







WILLIAM R. MORRISON

## ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY KEEPS UP ITS COURAGE DURING DAYS OF CIVIL WAR DRAMA

The not unnatural presumption made by so many, that the Illinois Democracy was in more or less of a panic during the Civil War period, is not apparent to the one that closely will study the record.

As a matter of fact, there is more evidence of temporary lack of the Illinois Democracy's traditional courage in the so-called reconstruction period that followed the Civil War than during the actual years of conflict.

That the Illinois Democracy still was a fighting organization from 1860 on, is shown by the fact that Abraham Lincoln carried his own state by the scant plurality of 11,966 votes the first time he ran, and by only 30,795 plurality in his second race.

In 1860, the elder Yates won the governorship from James C. Allen, Democratic nominee, with only 12,943 votes to spare.

### LINCOLN LOST SANGAMON

Considering the 1860 and 1864 campaigns, it is interesting to note that Abraham Lincoln lost his home county of Sangamon, wherein his immortal remains now rest, in each of his presidential races.

In November 1860, the Sangamon vote was:

Douglas .....	3,598
Lincoln .....	3,556
Bell .....	130
Breckenridge .....	77

During the crucial four years that followed, Lincoln appears to have lost rather than gained popularity in the vicinity of the Illinois capitol, for the Sangamon vote in 1864 was:

McClellan .....	3,945
Lincoln .....	3,565



That peculiar quirk of politics by which the county wherein is located the Illinois capitol, goes against the administration in power, has been demonstrated in many elections since that time.

### **DEMOCRATS WON IN 1862**

With the Civil War almost at its height in November 1862, the Illinois Democracy put over its candidate for state treasurer, Alexander Starne, of Springfield, by a plurality of 16,666 votes.

That same year it also elected its nominee for superintendent of public instruction, the able John P. Brooks—the first time, by the way, that it ever obtained control of that important office through an election.

### **A DEMOCRATIC BLUNDER**

Viewed in retrospect, one of the few really serious blunders made by the Illinois Democracy, was on June 15, 1864, when, at the Springfield state convention, the party voted a plank denouncing the conduct of the war by the Lincoln administration, declaring that war a failure, and demanding prompt cessation of hostilities.

The plank had been adopted in the face of much opposition, and was said to have been inserted against the advice of William A. Hacker, chairman of the convention, Alexander Starne, Isaac R. Diller, Charles A. Lanphier and other party leaders of that era.

### **SPELT DEFEAT FOR MORRISON**

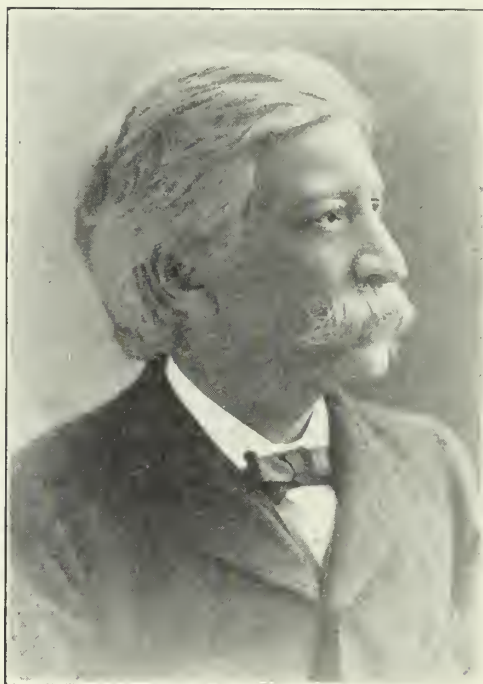
That “stop firing” demand in the party platform was seized on by many Republican orators, that year, and is said to have been responsible for the defeat of the great William R. Morrison for congress, in the twelfth district.

He lost to John Baker, Republican nominee, by only 12 votes.

That ill-advised plank rose to haunt the party—and to help defeat it!—in many subsequent campaigns.

It was quoted and denounced in vitriolic language by “Fire Alarm” Foraker, of Ohio, in an address at Chicago, as late as the campaign year 1888.





MELVILLE W. FULLER

## DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS FROM CIVIL WAR PERIOD UNTIL CAMPAIGN OF 1878

The twelfth Democratic State convention assembled in Springfield on September 10, 1862, and was called to order by Virgil Hickox, chairman of the state central committee.

Alexander Starne of Springfield, formerly of Pike county, was nominated for state treasurer, John P. Brooks for superintendent of public instruction, and James C. Allen for congressman-at-large.

Despite the darker days which were falling on their party, all were successful in the ensuing election.

The committee appointed by the convention to choose members of the state central body, reported the following list:

At large—John Moore, chairman; William C. Goudy, and H. K. S. O'Melveny.

First district—George L. Kimberly.

Second district—E. D. Marsh.

Third district—H. W. Foltz.

Fourth district—James N. Pitman.

Fifth district—Peter Sweet.

Sixth district—John L. McCormack.

Seventh district—W. D. Latshaw.

Eighth district—George Judd.

Ninth district—John Hill.

Tenth district—Anthony Thornton.

Eleventh district—George H. Varnell.

Twelfth district—William Kempt.

Thirteenth district—John G. Powell.

The first chairman of this committee was John Moore. He died in September, 1863 and was succeeded by Isaac R. Diller.

**THE FIRST 1864 CONVENTION**

Amid all the bitterness of the Civil War, the thirteenth Democratic State convention met in Springfield on call of the state committee, June 15, 1864, to choose delegates to the national convention of their party which was to be held at Chicago on August 29, and to nominate candidates for presidential electors.

The chairman of the convention, William A. Hacher, was instructed by that body to appoint the state committee for the ensuing year, and he selected the following.

At large—Alexander Starne, Charles H. Lanphier, and Isaac R. Diller.

First district—Timothy S. Fetch.

Second district—B. F. Parks.

Third district—E. B. Stiles.

Fourth district—J. B. Danforth.

Fifth district—George W. Stipp.

Sixth district—John Hise.

Seventh district—Henry Prather.

Eighth district—George Judd.

Ninth district—S. Corning Judd.

Tenth district—H. M. Vandever.

Eleventh district—R. W. Townsend.

Twelfth district—John J. Mitchell.

Thirteenth district—N. R. Casey.

The committee organized with the election of Isaac R. Diller as chairman, and George Judd as secretary.

**SECOND 1864 CONVENTION**

The fourteenth Democratic State convention, the second of the year, met in Springfield, September 6, 1864. The following state ticket was nominated.

For governor—James C. Robinson, of Clark county.

For lieutenant governor—S. Corning Judd, of Fulton.

For auditor of public accounts—John Hise.

For treasurer—Alexander Starne.

For secretary of state—William A. Turney.

For superintendent of public instruction—John P. Brooks.

No change was made in the personnel of the state central committee.

Despite the counter interest of civil strife, an active campaign was conducted, and the party meetings were well attended.

The whole ticket, however, went down to defeat.

### **GENERAL McCLEARNAND PRESIDES**

The fifteenth Democratic State convention met in Springfield, August 29, 1866 and, after being called to order by Isaac R. Diller, chairman of the state central committee, John A. McClelland of Springfield, was introduced as permanent chairman.

McClelland had been one of Illinois' greatest and bravest figures in the Civil War, and the ovation which greeted him on his assumption of the gavel was tremendous and long continued.

Nominees of the convention were as follows:

For state treasurer—Gen. Jesse J. Phillips.

For superintendent of public instruction—Col. John M. Crebs.

For congressman-at-large—Col. T. Lyle Dickey.

The state committee, appointed by the convention, was as follows:

At large—John A. McClelland, Elliot B. Herndon, and R. E. Goodell.

First district—David A. Gage.

Second district—W. H. Gillman.

Third district—Louis Schisler.

Fourth district—W. A. Richardson.

Fifth district—James J. Herron.

Sixth district—Alonzo Leech.

Seventh district—John Doulon.

Eighth district—R. B. M. Wilson.

Ninth district—L. W. James.

Tenth district—Cyrus Epler.

Eleventh district—James C. Robinson.

Twelfth district—George B. Burnett.

Thirteenth district—John Q. Harmon.

The issues principally discussed during the campaign of 1866 related to the work of reconstructing those states that recently had been



in rebellion and, despite the large attendance and the enthusiasm which had greeted McClelland and other notables of the gathering, a feeling of hopelessness as to party success was apparent among the delegates.

### THE 1868 CONVENTION

The sixteenth Democratic state convention met at Springfield, April 15, 1868, being called to order by Gen. McClelland as chairman of the state central body.

Anthony L. Thornton was chosen permanent chairman.

The following state ticket was nominated.

For governor—John R. Eden, of Sullivan.

For lieutenant governor—William H. Van Epps.

For secretary of state—Gustavus Van Hoorbecke.

For treasurer—Jesse J. Phillips.

For auditor of public accounts—John R. Shannon.

For attorney-general—Robert E. Williams.

For congressman-at-large—William W. O. Brian.

Candidates for presidential electors also were chosen, as were delegates to the national convention which was to be held at New York City, beginning July 4.

The state central committee chosen was as follows:

At large—John A. McClelland, Edward L. Merritt, and John Oberly.

First district—George S. Kimberly.

Second district—William M. Case.

Third district—J. E. McFarren.

Fourth district—Thomas Redmond.

Fifth district—H. F. Baldwin.

Sixth district—William M. Steele.

Seventh district—Simeon H. Busey.

Eighth district—Jefferson A. Davis.

Ninth district—Edward Lanning.

Tenth district—John T. Springer.

Eleventh district—Charles Gordon Smith.

Twelfth district—S. M. Kase.

Thirteenth district—John H. Oberly.

**THE CONVENTION OF 1870**

The seventeenth Democratic state convention met in the Opera House at Springfield, June 15, 1870.

Col. John Dement was chosen permanent chairman and, despite the comparatively lowly state to which the party had fallen, there was considerable, but friendly, rivalry for the nominations which finally were made as follows:

For state treasurer—Charles Ridgely.

For superintendent of public instruction—Charles Fiense.

For congressman-at-large—Gen. William B. Anderson.

Candidates for penitentiary commissioners also were nominated.

**MELVILLE W. FULLER ON LIST**

The personnel of the state central committee chosen by the convention of 1870 is notable for the fact that the first name reported was that of Melville W. Fuller, then comparatively new to the public gaze, but later destined to be chief justice of the United States and famed as one of the greatest lawyers in the history of Illinois.

The committee consisted of:

First district—Melville W. Fuller.

Second district—A. M. Harrington.

Third district—William Shamon.

Fourth district—George Edmunds.

Fifth district—B. W. Seaton.

Sixth district—William Hanley.

Seventh district—John W. Smith.

Eighth district—Edward L. Merritt.

Ninth district—A. A. Glenn.

Tenth district—A. T. Hall.

Eleventh district—J. R. Robinson.

Twelfth district—S. A. Buckmaster.

Thirteenth district—William H. Green.

The committee organized by the selection of Albert G. Burr, of Carrollton, as chairman, and George S. Kimberly, as secretary.

### CONVENTION IN MERGER

The eighteenth Democratic state convention, which assembled at the Opera House in Springfield on June 26, 1872, is notable in that it witnessed a merger with a wing of the Republican party in the naming of candidates.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Burr of the state committee, and Hon. James C. Allen was introduced as permanent presiding officer.

A feeling of optimism marked the spirit of the gathering because the news of the merger had been quite generally circulated, and it was thought that such coalition would serve to bring Democrats back to those official positions, which formerly had been regarded as their birth-right, but from which they now had been dislodged.

A committee on conference was appointed to meet with a like body from the Liberal Republican state convention which also was in session in Springfield, and to report candidates for the different state offices, on a "share-and-share-alike" basis.

General McClelland was chairman of the conference committee which, after lengthy discussions, reported that the following list of state candidates had been agreed to:

For governor—Gustavus P. Koerner (Liberal Republican).

For lieutenant governor—John C. Black (Democrat).

For secretary of state—Edward M. Rummel (Liberal Republican).

For auditor of public accounts—Daniel O'Hara (Democrat).

For treasurer—Charles H. Lanphier (Democrat).

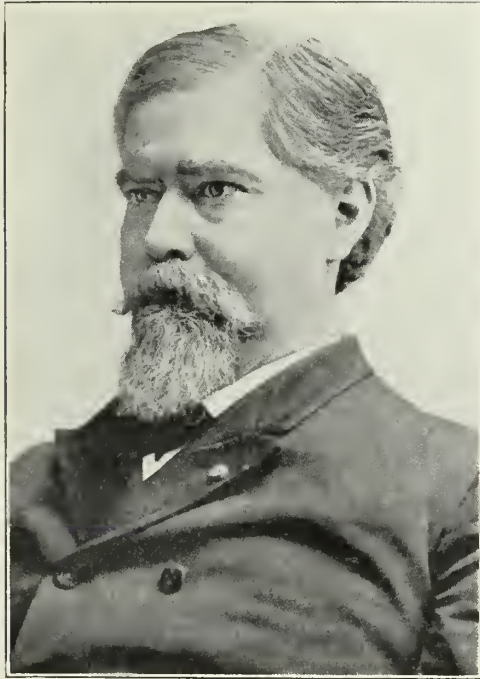
For attorney-general—Lawrence Weldon (Liberal Republican).

Mr. Weldon declined the nomination which had been tendered him, and John V. Eustace (Liberal Republican) was substituted on the ticket.

The report was enthusiastically approved by the convention, which also named candidates for clerks of the supreme court in three grand divisions of the state.

Delegates also were chosen to the Democratic national convention which had been called to meet at Baltimore on the following July 9.

The merged ticket thus nominated by the two conventions was



GENERAL JOHN C. BLACK



known as the "Democratic-Liberal Republican" ticket and, at the beginning of the campaign was regarded as having sufficient strength to carry it on to victory.

Personally, all the nominees were popular with the people.

But no such popular wave met the nomination of Horace Greeley, at Baltimore, a few weeks later and the defeat of the coalition ticket in Illinois largely is attributed to that fact.

The state central committee nominated by the June 1872 convention was as follows:

At large—James C. Robinson, of Springfield, and Cyrus H. McCormick, of Chicago.

First district—George S. Kimberly.

Second district—A. C. Storey.

Third district—Thomas Schintz.

Fourth district—J. S. Ticknor.

Fifth district—W. O. Wright.

Sixth district—C. Seech.

Seventh district—J. G. Ellwood.

Eighth district—W. S. Cook.

Ninth district—W. T. Dowdall.

Tenth district—W. R. Hamilton.

Eleventh district—A. A. Glenn.

Twelfth district—E. L. Merritt.

Thirteenth district—Silas Beson.

Fourteenth district—J. R. Cunningham.

Fifteenth district—E. Barrett.

Sixteenth district—W. A. J. Sparks.

Seventeenth district—S. P. Wilcox.

Eighteenth district—W. H. Green.

Nineteenth district—Charles Carroll.

Hon. Cyrus H. McCormick, of Chicago, one of the most distinguished men in the history of that city, and of the state, was elected chairman of the central committee with Edward L. Merritt, of Springfield, secretary.



### **"FREE SILVER" APPEARS ON SCENE**

The nineteenth Democratic state convention, which assembled in Springfield on August 26, 1874, was notable in that it was one of the first to insert a free silver plank.

The convention was called to order by Judge W. H. Green, a member of the committee, in the absence of Chairman Cyrus McCormick.

In its official call, the state central body had departed from all early practice by embodying a proposed party platform in view of the gathering of the delegates.

It is understood that this platform had been the work of E. L. Merritt, at that time secretary of the committee, and one of the best known and most progressive of Springfield Democrats.

The proposed platform as included in the call, read as follows:

"All voters of the State who desire to promote the following purposes, are invited to join in sending delegates to this convention.

"First. The restoration of gold and silver, as the basis of the currency of the country; the speedy resumption of specie payments, and the payment of all national indebtedness in the money recognized by the civilized world.

"Second. Free commerce.

"Third. Individual liberty, and opposition to sumptuary laws.

"Fourth. Rigid restriction of the governments, both state and national, to the legitimate domain of their political power, by excluding therefrom all executive and legislative intermeddling with the affairs of society whereby monopolies are fostered, privileged classes aggrandized, and individual freedom unnecessarily and oppressively restrained.

"Fifth. The right and duty of the State to protect its citizens from extortion and unjust discrimination by chartered monopolies."

### **ENTHUSIASM FOR PALMER**

Former Governor John M. Palmer of Springfield, later United States senator, was given a tremendous ovation when he was introduced to the convention as its permanent chairman.

R. E. Goodell was secretary.

For the second time in party history, the convention nominated a "merged ticket," the candidates being:

For state treasurer—Charles Carroll, of Shawneetown.

For superintendent of public instruction—Samuel M. Etter.

Mr. Etter previously had been nominated for the same office by a convention of what was then known as the "Anti-Monopoly" party.

The Democrats appeared to have supported both Mr. Carroll and Mr. Etter, but the former does not seem to have received like treatment of the Anti-Monopoly adherents.

Etter was elected but Carroll was defeated by Thomas S. Ridgway, the Republican nominee.

Members of the state central committee as chosen by the convention were:

At large—N. B. Miller, R. W. Townsend, and William Brown.

First district—Egbert Jamieson.

Second district—William J. Inahan.

Third district—F. H. O. Winston.

Fourth district—A. M. Harrington.

Fifth district—William P. Wright.

Sixth district—J. S. Drake.

Seventh district—George W. Ravens.

Eighth district—Washington E. Cook.

Ninth district—Charles P. King.

Tenth district—David E. Head.

Eleventh district—J. M. Bush.

Twelfth district—Edward L. Merritt.

Thirteenth district—John A. Mallory.

Fourteenth district—J. H. Busby.

Fifteenth district—N. O. Robinson.

Sixteenth district—C. D. Hoiles.

Seventeenth district—W. H. Krome.

Eighteenth district—William H. Green.

Nineteenth district—James P. Robinson.

The state central committee organized by the election of Hon. William Brown, of Jacksonville, as chairman, and E. L. Merritt, of Springfield, as secretary.

**FIRST CONVENTION OF 1876**

The twentieth Democratic state convention met, in the new State House in Springfield, June 22, 1876, for the purpose of electing delegates to the national gathering.

Hon. A. G. Burr was elected chairman and, afterward, the temporary organization was made permanent.

Other than the choosing of the delegates and alternates to the St. Louis convention, which was to assemble five days later, little business was transacted and no change was made in the state central committee.

**SECOND CONVENTION OF 1876**

The twenty-first Democratic state convention and the second of the year, met in Springfield, July 27, 1876, to nominate candidates for state offices.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Brown, of the state central committee with Hon. James C. Allen chosen as permanent chairman.

A state ticket was nominated as follows:

For governor—Lewis Steward, of Kendall county.

For lieutenant governor—Archibald A. Glenn, of Brown county.

For secretary of state—Stephen G. Thornton.

For auditor of public accounts—John Hise.

For state treasurer—George Gundlach.

For attorney-general—Edmund Lynch.

Nominations also were made of candidates for presidential electors, and the convention appointed the following state central committee:

At large—C. H. McCormick, C. D. Hoiles, J. B. Mann, W. K. Murphy, A. P. Godard, and B. F. Bergen.

First district—R. E. Goodell.

Second district—Thomas E. Courtney.

Third district—Thomas Shirley.

Fourth district—Richard Bishop.

Fifth district—F. H. Marsh.

Sixth district—J. S. Drake.

Seventh district—W. A. Steele.

Eighth district—J. Duff.

Ninth district—W. T. Davidson.

Tenth district—George Edmunds.

Eleventh district—J. M. Bush.

Twelfth district—H. P. Shumway.

Thirteenth district—J. A. Mallory.

Fourteenth district—John W. Smith.

Fifteenth district—W. A. Cochrane.

Sixteenth district—L. B. Parsons.

Seventeenth district—H. C. Gerke.

Eighteenth district—T. F. Bouton.

Nineteenth district—S. Z. Landes.

The state central committee organized with the election of Cyrus H. McCormick of Chicago, as chairman, and Thomas Shirley as secretary.

### **PARTY ENTHUSIASM RESTORED**

The party nominees for governor and for auditor also were candidates on the so-called "Greenback ticket" and the campaign in behalf of all the Democratic nominees was carried on with new vigor.

The presidential standard bearers, Tilden and Hendricks, were very popular with the masses and the enthusiasms of earlier years were again in evidence.

But the ticket went down to defeat in an election in which Tilden and Hendricks received a majority of the popular vote of the country but, by political chicanery, were kept out of the offices.

### **CONVENTION OF 1878**

The twenty-second Democratic state convention was held at the capitol in Springfield, April 11, 1878.

M. W. Robinson, of Cook county, the Democracy which now was making its presence very manifest in Democratic state circles, was selected as permanent chairman.

The nominees selected were:

For state treasurer—Edward L. Cronkrite, of Freeport.

For superintendent of public instruction—Samuel M. Etter, the incumbent.

The state central committee selected was as follows:

At large—John Forsyth, John M. Crebs, Alfred Orendorff, Charles Dunham, William K. Murphy, and Andrew J. Fryer.

First district—H. F. Sheridan.

Second district—Thomas E. Courtney.

Third district—F. H. Winston.

Fourth district—H. R. Enoch.

Fifth district—F. H. Marsh.

Sixth district—J. S. Drake.

Seventh district—C. Zarley.

Eighth district—G. C. Harrington.

Ninth district—W. T. Davidson.

Tenth district—W. C. Hooker.

Eleventh district—J. M. Bush.

Twelfth district—T. W. McNeely.

Thirteenth district—J. B. Irwin.

Fourteenth district—E. A. Barringer.

Fifteenth district—W. A. Cochrane.

Sixteenth district—Lewis B. Parsons.

Seventeenth district—F. W. Coppinger.

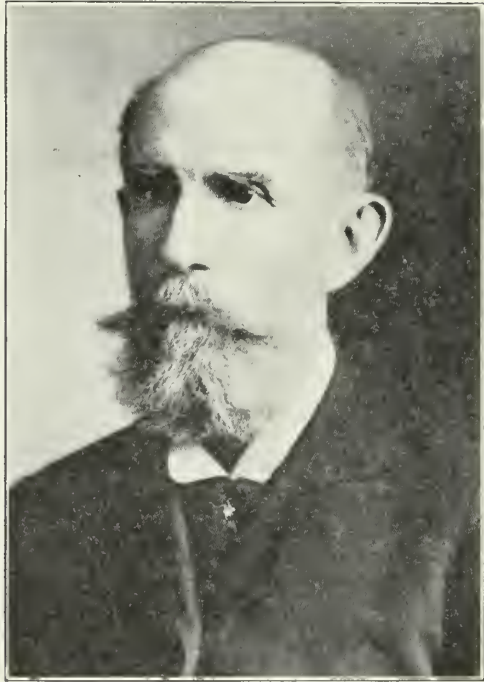
Eighteenth district—T. F. Bouton.

Nineteenth district—F. Pace.

The state central committee organized by the election of Hon. Thomas W. McNeely, of Petersburg, as chairman, and Alfred Orendorff, of Springfield, as secretary.







HENRY W. CLENDENIN

## STATE CONVENTIONS OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY DURING THE "EIGHTIES"

The enduring fiber of the Illinois Democracy never was more convincingly shown than in the days of the "eighties"—days which had their bright spot for the party, as a national body, in the election of Cleveland and Hendricks in 1884, but which offered "little to write home about" to Democrats of our own state.

Yet, every two years, in the face of repeated defeats, the Democracy of Illinois met in gallant array, undismayed by the fact that, for the time being, their commonwealth had become one of the most dependable of Republican strongholds.

Each two years they nominated men of fine ability who conducted courageous battles in the face of the well-nigh inevitable.

To the writer, these are among the proudest days of the Illinois Democracy, for it requires real bravery repeatedly to face a strongly entrenched enemy on empty stomachs—and throughout all the eighties, the stomachs of party leaders and party followers were destined to remain empty so far as the fleshpots of state office were concerned.

### THE 1880 CONVENTION

The twenty-third Democratic state convention assembled at the capitol building in Springfield, June 10, 1880, and was called to order by T. W. McNeely, chairman of the state committee.

Hon. Samuel S. Marshall, of McLeansboro, presided over the gathering and nominations were made as follows:

For governor—Lyman Trumbull, of Chicago.

For lieutenant governor—Lewis B. Parsons.

For secretary of state—John H. Oberly.

For auditor—Lewis C. Starkel.

For treasurer—Thomas Butterworth.

For attorney-general—Lawrence Harmon.

Candidates also were named for presidential electors and delegates were selected to the Democratic national convention, which was to meet in Cincinnati on June 22, and which nominated Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock as the presidential standard bearer.

The state central committee selected was:

At large—T. E. Courtney, J. W. Alexander, Alfred Orendorff, C. D. Hoiles, W. G. Ewing, F. M. Youngblood, J. R. Darnell, John C. Campbell and W. J. Mize.

First district—Richard Pendergast.

Second district—M. B. Bailey.

Third district—Clayton E. Crafts.

Fourth district—H. R. Enoch.

Fifth district—W. O. Wright.

Sixth district—A. K. Truesdale.

Seventh district—A. J. O'Connor.

Eighth district—James R. Walsh.

Ninth district—A. M. Brown.

Tenth district—Charles H. Whittaker.

Eleventh district—J. M. Bush.

Twelfth district—T. W. McNeely.

Thirteenth district—James A. Mallory.

Fourteenth district—E. A. Barringer.

Fifteenth district—W. A. Cochrane.

Sixteenth district—S. L. Dwight.

Seventeenth district—D. B. Gilham.

Eighteenth district—Thomas F. Bouton.

Nineteenth district—M. M. Poole.

This committee organized with the election of D. B. Gilham as chairman, and W. J. Mize secretary.

### THE CONVENTION OF 1882

The twenty-fourth Democratic state convention met in Springfield on September 7, 1882. Hon. W. A. Sparks was temporary chairman, while that great figure, who had headed the Lincoln presidential electors

in 1860, but who now had returned to the Democracy, Gen. John M. Palmer, was made permanent chairman.

The nominees were:

For state treasurer—Alfred Orendorff, of Springfield.

For superintendent of public instruction—Professor Henry Raab, of Belleville.

The state central committee named by this convention was:

At large—W. J. Mitz, John H. Oberly, W. H. Green, J. W. Coppinger, S. Corning Judd and Herman Lieb.

First district—Joseph Mackin.

Second district—J. H. Hildreth.

Third district—Theodore T. Gurney.

Fourth district—S. B. Chase.

Fifth district—Joseph Glidden.

Sixth district—W. H. Mitchell.

Seventh district—J. McCormick.

Eighth district—A. J. O'Conner.

Ninth district—E. B. Buck.

Tenth district—W. T. Dowdall.

Eleventh district—C. H. Whittaker.

Twelfth district—F. M. Bridges.

Thirteenth district—J. B. Irwin.

Fourteenth district—William Fuller.

Fifteenth district—A. J. Fryer.

Sixteenth district—George W. Fithian.

Seventeenth district—W. E. P. Anderson.

Eighteenth district—W. S. Forman.

Nineteenth district—S. L. Dwight.

Twentieth district—T. F. Bouton.

The committee organized by choosing John H. Oberly as its chairman, and W. J. Mize, as secretary.

### THE 1884 PEORIA CONVENTION

The twenty-fifth Democratic state convention was called to order in Peoria, July 2, 1884, by J. A. Oberly, chairman of the state committee.

There are Illinois Democrats still alive today to testify that the weather at the 1884 gathering was the hottest of any like assemblage. But, of course, they may be mistaken, for many conventions of the Illinois Democracy have been held in torrid weather.

Judge Monroe C. Crawford was selected as permanent chairman, and W. J. Mize, secretary.

Nominations for state offices made by the Peoria gathering were:

For governor—Carter H. Harrison, of Chicago, that splendid and verile figure of the earlier Democracy of that city.

For lieutenant governor—Henry Seiter, of St. Clair.

For secretary of state—Michael J. Dougherty.

For auditor of public accounts—Walter E. Carlin.

For treasurer—Alfred Orendorff.

For attorney-general—Robert L. McKinlay.

Nominations also were made for presidential electors and alternates to the national Democratic convention which was to gather in Chicago on July 10 and which there nominated Cleveland and Hendricks as the standard bearers who, after so many long years of defeat, would restore victory to the party banners.

### CLENDENIN IS NAMED

The state central committeemen appointed by the 1884 convention were:

At large—S. Corning Judd, John H. Oberly, Charles Dunham, W. J. Mize, W. H. Green, Herman Lieb, and Joseph C. Mackin.

District members of the central body nominated that year at Peoria were:

First district—A. W. Green.

Second district—Frank Lawler.

Third district—Patrick McCarthy.

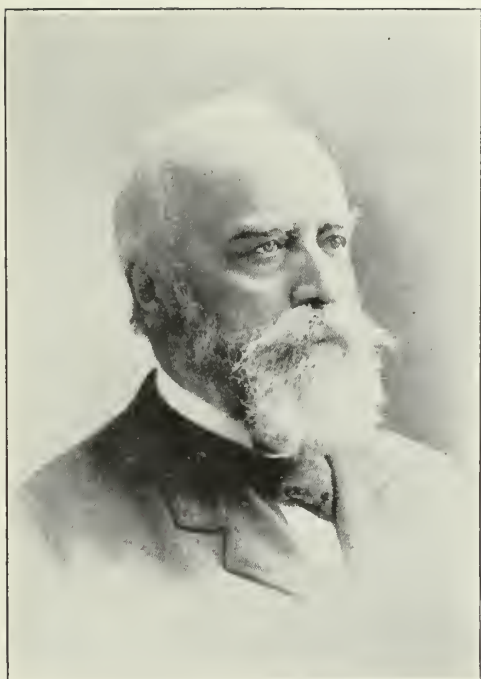
Fourth district—S. B. Chase.

Fifth district—S. L. Bignal.

Sixth district—W. H. Frazer.

Seventh district—W. C. Green.

Eighth district—J. C. Campbell.



CARTER H. HARRISON





Ninth district—R. S. McIllduff.

Tenth district—William McLean.

Eleventh district—C. R. Whittaker.

Twelfth district—Maurice Kelly.

Thirteenth district, then the Springfield district—Henry W. Clendenin, the famous editor of the Illinois State Register.

Fourteenth district—William Fuller.

Fifteenth district—A. J. Fryer.

Sixteenth district—C. C. Boggs.

Seventeenth district—W. Crouch.

Eighteenth district—H. G. Wheeler.

Nineteenth district—S. L. Dwight.

Twentieth district—L. A. Goddard.

This committee organized with the re-election of John H. Oberly as chairman, and W. J. Mize, secretary.

Mr. Oberly subsequently resigned from the chairmanship when he received a federal appointment at the hands of Grover Cleveland and was succeeded by Gen. Alfred Orendorff, of Springfield.

### THE 1886 CONVENTION

The twenty-sixth Democratic state convention returned to Springfield as its meeting place, gathering at noon of August 26.

Gen. Alfred Orendorff as chairman of the central committee, introduced James W. Duncan, of Ottawa, as temporary presiding officer, and that fine La Salle county Democrat was given a real ovation.

Later the convention made the temporary organization permanent, and named its ticket as follows:

For state treasurer—Henry F. J. Ricker, of Quincy.

For superintendent of public instruction—F. T. Oldt, of Carroll.

On motion of Delegate Shirley, of Chicago, the convention declared that:

“The state committee named by this convention shall be the committee for the ensuing two years, and the members thereof shall begin to discharge their duties as of January, 1887.”

This action of the convention left the state central committee, which had been named in 1884, as the body to handle the campaign.

The Democratic state central committee reported by the 1886 convention consisted of:

At large—Alfred Orendorff, W. H. Green, Charles Kern, E. M. Phelps, James S. Ewing, and J. W. Olson.

First district—George M. Haynes.

Second district—John J. Curran.

Third district—John Gaynor.

Fourth district—S. B. Chase.

Fifth district—Richard N. Botsford.

Sixth district—William O. Wright.

Seventh district—W. H. Mesenkop.

Eighth district—J. C. Campbell.

Ninth district—Joseph E. Ong.

Tenth district—Moses N. Gish.

Eleventh district—Delos P. Phelps.

Twelfth district—John Jones.

Thirteenth district—T. W. McNeely.

Fourteenth district—W. J. Mize.

Fifteenth district—William B. Brinton.

Sixteenth district—George N. Parker.

Seventeenth district—J. H. Baker.

Eighteenth district—H. G. Wheeler.

Nineteenth district—S. L. Dwight.

Twentieth district—T. F. Bouton.

The committee thus selected was organized with Delos P. Phelps as chairman, and W. J. Mize as secretary.

### THE 1888 CONVENTION

With the national Democrats in power, but with that of our own state still out in the cold, the twenty-seventh Democratic state convention met in Springfield, May 23, 1888.

One of the most famous jurists of his day, Jesse J. Phillips, was elected permanent chairman.

The following state ticket was nominated:

For governor—Gen. John M. Palmer, of Springfield.

For lieutenant-governor—Andrew J. Bell, of Peoria.

For secretary of state—N. D. Ricks.

For auditor of public accounts—Andrew Welch.

For treasurer—Charles H. Wacker.

For attorney-general—Jacob R. Creighton.

The convention nominated candidates for presidential electors and appointed delegates and alternates to the Democratic national convention, which was to assemble at St. Louis on the 6th day of the following month, and which convention then renominated Grover Cleveland for president, and named Allan C. Thurman as his running mate.

The state committee appointed was:

At large—Thomas W. McNeely, S. P. Cummings, Delos P. Phelps, J. W. Richards, John Powers, and W. B. Brinton.

First district—George M. Haynes.

Second district—J. C. Strain.

Third district—John Gaynor.

Fourth district—S. B. Chase.

Fifth district—R. M. Botsford.

Sixth district—W. O. Wright.

Seventh district—W. H. Mesenkop.

Eighth district—John C. Campbell.

Ninth district—J. E. Ong.

Tenth district—M. N. Gish.

Eleventh district—Delos P. Phelps.

Twelfth district—John Jones.

Thirteenth district—J. D. Wright.

Fourteenth district—W. J. Mize.

Fifteenth district—W. B. Brinton.

Sixteenth district—George N. Parker.

Seventeenth district—J. H. Baker.

Eighteenth district—J. W. Coppinger.

Nineteenth district—Walter Watson.

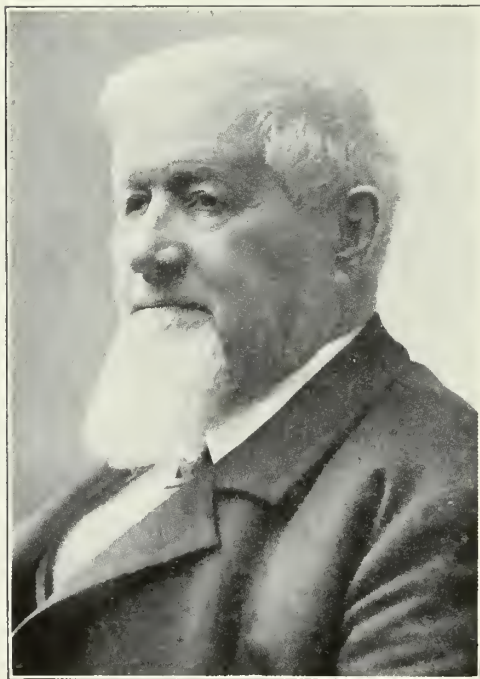
Twentieth district—T. F. Bouton.

This committee was organized with John C. Campbell as its chairman, W. J. Mize, secretary, and James S. Ewing, treasurer.









JOHN M. PALMER

## THE ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY IN THE YEAR THAT WAS TO BRING BACK VICTORY

There were early indications in the good Democratic year 1890 that, after many long years of defeat, party success once more was in sight for the Democracy of Illinois.

It was true that Cleveland, while receiving a good plurality in the popular vote, had been defeated for re-election two years earlier, but, obviously the Benjamin Harrison administration was proving anything but a howling success.

Even that year, the economic barometer was beginning to show signs of its bad times which were to become more pronounced in the following years, and which period now quite generally is alluded to as "the panic of 1893."

It was a decidedly optimistic and cheerful gathering which assembled in Springfield on June 4, 1890, and which wildly applauded General John M. Palmer when he appeared before it after having been declared the party nominee for United States senator.

This, the twenty-eighth Democratic state convention of Illinois was called to order by Delos P. Phelps, as chairman of the state central committee.

He introduced Hon. Joseph B. Mann, of Danville, one of the most popular and distinguished Democrats of the period, as temporary chairman.

This temporary organization afterwards was made permanent.

Nominations for state officers were:

For state treasurer—Edward S. Wilson, of Olney.

For superintendent of public instruction—Henry Raab.

After these candidates had been nominated and trustees had been named for the university of Illinois, the convention unanimously adopted a resolution offered by Hon. J. M. Bush of Pike county, declaring that John M. Palmer, of Springfield, was the party choice for United States senator and recommending him not only to the consideration of the voters, but to the general assembly that was to meet in January, 1891.

There were many issues in the 1890 campaign, the principal of which was the McKinley tariff act, and the state compulsory education law.

It was largely on these issues that the Democrats elected their state ticket by large majority and, the following year, after many ballots by the general assembly, succeeded in sending John M. Palmer to the Senate of the United States, as successor to Hon. Charles B. Farwell, of Chicago, by the scant majority of one vote.

The state central committee appointed by the 1890 convention was composed of:

At large—Delos P. Phelps, S. B. Chase, James C. Strain, John H. Baker, Andrew Welsh, J. R. Creighton, and C. D. Hoiles.

First district—Thomas Gahan.

Second district—Joseph P. Mahoney.

Third district—William J. Mahoney.

Fourth district—Fred Greisheimer.

Fifth district—Dennis J. Hogan.

Sixth district—W. O. Wright.

Seventh district—C. C. Johuson.

Eighth district—P. C. Haley.

Ninth district—D. C. Taylor.

Tenth district—S. Y. Thornton.

Eleventh district—J. W. Potter.

Twelfth district—W. H. Hinrichsen, who was to become secretary of state two years later.

Thirteenth district—J. D. Wright.

Fourteenth district—Theodore Nelson.

Fifteenth district—W. B. Brinton.

Sixteenth district—John Londrigan.

Seventeenth district—J. W. Lumpkin.

Eighteenth district—Timothy Gruaz.

Nineteenth district—Walter Watson.

Twentieth district—Ralph E. Sprigg.

The committee was organized the following January by the election of Delos P. Phelps, of Monmouth, as chairman; Theodore Nelson, of Decatur, as secretary; and W. B. Brinton, of Tuscola, as treasurer.

## **THE YEAR THAT MADE JOHN PETER ALTGELD ONE OF THE NATION'S NOTABLES**

The year 1892 ever will remain one of much importance in the annals of the Illinois Democracy, because, among other things, it marked:

The advance of John Peter Altgeld to a large place in the councils of his party throughout the nation.

The growing dominance of Chicago in Democratic state politics and which dominance has continued ever since.

The election of the first Illinois Democrat, Adlai E. Stevenson, ever to achieve victory as one of the standard bearers of his party in a presidential campaign.

Until the Democratic state convention of April, 1892, John Peter Altgeld had been a stalwart figure and a distinguished judge in Cook county, but he was little known throughout the balance of the state.

Indeed, even then there was a good deal of aloofness on the part of downstate Democrats toward their Chicago brethren — an aloofness which, while not justified, has remained in more or less degree, even until the present year, 1935.

The attitude of the Democratic downstate press, prior to the convention, had been none too friendly toward Altgeld but, when he came to the platform of the convention and delivered one of those characteristic addresses that later endeared him so much to the rank and file of the people, it was another case of: "I came, I saw, I conquered!" for John Peter Altgeld, who really won the minds and hearts of the delegates.

### **THE 1892 CONVENTION**

This, the twenty-ninth Democratic state convention, assembled at the capitol in Springfield on April 27, and was called to order by Chairman Delos P. Phelps of the State central committee.

That fine Democrat of White county, Hon. James R. Williams, of Carmi, was selected as temporary chairman.

Former speaker, Clayton E. Crafts, was made permanent presiding officer.

The nominations for state officers were:

For governor—Judge John P. Altgeld, of Chicago.

For lieutenant governor—Joseph B. Gill, of Murphysboro.

For secretary of state—W. H. Hinrichsen, of Quincy.

For auditor of public accounts—David Gore, of Carlinville.

For treasurer—Rufus N. Ramsey, of Carlyle.

For attorney-general—Maurice T. Maloney, of La Salle.

In addition to three candidates for trustees of the University of Illinois, the convention was to name candidates for two congressmen for the state at large. This, on account of the increased representation in the lower house in Washington to which Illinois had been shown to be entitled by the 1890 census.

The nominees for these two places were: Gen. John C. Black, of Chicago, and Hon. Andrew J. Hunter, of Paris.

The convention also named candidates for presidential electors and appointed delegates and alternates to the national convention which was to meet in Chicago on June 21 of which, for the third time, was to nominate Grover Cleveland as its candidate for president, with Adlai E. Stevenson, of Bloomington, Illinois, as the vice presidential nominee.

The April, 1892 state convention did not endorse either of these two great Democrats, although on their nomination it gave them enthusiastic support.

Instead, all delegates and alternates to the Chicago national convention were instructed to vote as a unit for United States Senator John M. Palmer, of Springfield, as the choice of the state for president.

### **FREE SILVER ENDORSED**

The platform was one of the lengthiest on record—indeed, to many, all state and national platforms of all parties appear too long for general consideration and at some time or other, the Democracy of Illinois is going to sound a newer and wiser note by adopting a platform so concise that all will read it and understand.



The lengthy platform of 1892 covered many subjects.

It endorsed: "To the fullest extent, the wise and patriotic administration of Grover Cleveland."

It denounced the "robber tariff"—virtually all Democratic platforms until that of Houston in 1928, did that.

It congratulated the nation on the election of John M. Palmer to the Senate, and on the splendid record he was making in that august body.

It denounced the so-called "Bennett school law" in a carefully drawn and decidedly wise plank, and one which cut large figure in bringing victory to the party ticket the following November.

But, perhaps the most important of all, it paved the way for the nomination of that immortal son of Illinois, William Jennings Bryan, four years later, by its utterance on the question in a plank which read:

"We reiterate our allegiance to the historic policy of the Democratic party in favor of honest money; the gold and silver provided by the constitution of the United States, and of a currency convertible into such coinage without loss to the holder . . . so that parity may be maintained between the two metals and all mints be thrown open to free coinage."

On that plank, the party went to triumphant victory, the following November, but just how much the free silver declaration really had to do with this victory, never had been altogether clear.

Grover Cleveland, who certainly did not favor free silver at any time in his great career, carried Illinois by a plurality of 26,993.

John Peter Altgeld, who just as certainly did favor free silver, was elected by a plurality of 22,882, and all the other candidates of the Illinois Democracy were successful.

### THE "AMERICAN EAGLE" WINS

Thus, John P. Altgeld the "American Eagle" of the Illinois Democracy became the first Democratic governor of his state since the days of Joel A. Matteson, who had retired thirty-six years earlier.

And, once in the governor's chair, he grew and grew in the minds of the masses and became one of the strongest of the notable figures which were to appear in the Chicago national convention of July, 1896.



Quiet, unassuming, but in an unmistakable way, John P. Altgeld dominated that never-to-be forgotten gathering with its "Cross or Gold" speech and scores of other enduring highlights.

### STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF 1892

The Democratic state central committee which acted in the management of the Cleveland-Stevenson-Altgeld ticket of 1892, and which was entitled to considerable credit for the successful outcome of that conflict, was as follows:

At large—Delos P. Phelps, Samuel B. Chase, Joseph P. Mahoney, Thomas Gahan, P. C. Haley, Frank Havill and W. J. Broderick.

First district—J. P. Leyendecker.

Second district—William J. O'Brien.

Third district—J. J. Townsend.

Fourth district—John F. O'Malley.

Fifth district—Dennis J. Hogan.

Sixth district—Charles Neiman.

Seventh district—C. C. Johnson.

Eighth district—Daniel Heenan.

Ninth district—Edwin Beard.

Tenth district—Frank J. Quinn.

Eleventh district—J. W. Potter.

Twelfth district—E. F. Binns.

Thirteenth district—W. T. Vandever.

Fourteenth district—Theodore Nelson.

Fifteenth district—William B. Brinton.

Sixteenth district—W. F. Beck.

Seventeenth district—John H. Baker.

Eighteenth district—Lucas Pheiffenberger.

Nineteenth district—Walter Watson.

Twentieth district—W. W. Carr.

The state central committee had organized by the re-election of all the 1890 officers:

Delos P. Phelps, chairman; Theodore Nelson, secretary; and W. B. Brinton, treasurer.





EDWARD C. HURLEY

## **CHICAGO PROVES ITSELF FORTUNATE PLACE FOR DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS**

Chicago repeatedly has proven itself a wise selection as the place for holding Democratic national conventions.

The colorful gathering of 1932 is too recent history to need elaboration in this particular chapter, but it may be well to recall that the gathering that nominated the first Democratic national ticket to be elected since before the Civil War, Cleveland and Hendricks, met in Chicago on July 10, 1884.

The convention that nominated Cleveland for a third time and which named Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, as his running mate, met in the same city on June 22, 1892, and victory again perched on the party banners.

Vice President Stevenson's distinguished career is set forth in another chapter.

Suffice here to say that he had been a famous member of Congress and that, during Cleveland's first administration, first assistant Post Master General.

He had become popular among Democrats largely because of his ever affable disposition, his democratic manners, and his faithfulness to the Democracy not only of Illinois, but of the country, in the disposition of post offices so far as they came within his management.

He was a Democrat of the old school in that, as well as in other respects, and the Democrats of the nation who came in contact with him always liked him, and when he defeated Isaac Pusey Gray of Indiana, his principal competitor for the vice presidential nomination at the June, 1892 convention, there was great rejoicing throughout his home state.

Mr. Stevenson's fine personality and popularity undoubtedly added much strength to the ticket not only in Illinois, but all over the country.

**UMBRELLAS HELPED**

The 1892 convention was held in a temporary structure erected for the purpose on the lake front.

Largely due to the scheme of decorations it was decidedly attractive so far as the interior was concerned, but it was a leaky affair, as was demonstrated when along came the heavy rains that fell during days and nights of the gathering.

While the balloting of Stevenson was in progress, umbrellas were much in evidence—the only time in the recorded history of Democratic national gatherings that this unusual spectacle has been seen.

The bold declaration that had been made by the Republicans for the McKinley tariff, coupled with the very ambiguous action of the opposition on the then all-important silver question, finally resulted in the tariff again being the main issue of the campaign.

The nominations of Stevenson for vice president and John P. Altgeld for governor, made Illinois one of the battle grounds of the struggle.

John Peter Altgeld traveled through the state from end to end, visiting every locality.

Besides making speeches, sometimes as many as three in a day in the larger cities, he would go from town to town, stop off between trains, hunt up the leading Democrats of the vicinity and, through them would meet personally as many of the people as was possible.

**ALTGELD MET THOUSANDS**

In this way, he met and shook hands with thousands of the rank and file, encouraged them to large personal efforts, not only in his own behalf, but for the county tickets.

This contributed much toward the carrying of our state that year and to the victory of so many Democrats for lesser offices.

Then, too, the stand taken by Mr. Altgeld on the much-debated school question, backed up as it was by the Democratic platform, caused many former Republicans, especially those who were German Lutherans, to vote the entire Democratic ticket.

At that time there was an element in the state, and especially in

Cook county, of independent voters, or, as they then were called "Mugwumps," who voted very generally for Cleveland and, in many instances, for the entire Democratic ticket without a single scratch.

Not only were national and state tickets victorious, but the general assembly elected only 22 Republicans to 29 Democrats in the Senate with 78 Democrats to 75 Republicans in the lower house.









ADLAI E. STEVENSON

## **THE ONLY ILLINOIS DEMOCRAT EVER ELECTED TO THE VICE PRESIDENCY ADLAI EWING STEVENSON**

Following the formation of the Constitution, the leaders of the people rose from the people themselves. It was test of courage and wisdom which bore ever onward toward victory over every difficulty. When the great struggle of the early nineteenth century began between the Federalists and Republicans, ending with the success of Thomas Jefferson, the die was cast in favor of the popular tide which increased throughout the years until the administration of Andrew Jackson. This forward thrust of the common people maintained its upward course, secured the foundations of a great government, and transmitted the spirit to a National Democracy which governed the land with but few interruptions until the memorable struggle in 1860.

When the heroic statesman was retiring to the Hermitage and to private life, Adlai Ewing Stevenson was born in Christian County, Kentucky, October 23, 1835. His parents were John T. and Ann Aliza (Ewing) Stevenson. The father was born in the Carolinas and early had moved to Kentucky, only to continue the westward trek to establish the family home in Bloomington, Illinois. Adlai was eighteen when this move was made. He at once entered the Methodist school now known as Illinois Wesleyan University, where for two years he continued his studies. His parents, thinking well of the faculty of Center College in Kentucky, sent him there to finish his education.

His father dying in 1856, the young man returned to his ancestral home and prepared to study law. He entered the office of Judge Davis and R. E. Williams for his apprenticeship, and in 1858 had reached the place where he passed the examination and was admitted to the bar. Casting about for a suitable place in which to hang out his shingle, he chose Metamora in Woodford County, and in 1859 began to practice his profession in that city. He was soon thereafter appointed Master in Chancery for Woodford County and served four years. He then ran

for State's Attorney of the County and was elected for another four years of official service. He was obliging and made a very favorable impression on the other members of the bar irrespective of political affiliation.

In 1869 he left Woodford County and returned to Bloomington where he entered into a partnership with Hon. James S. Ewing, which firm was continued for several years after Mr. Stevenson retired from public life.

### **ENTERS NATIONAL ARENA**

Serving four years as state's attorney (1865-1869) Adlai E. Stevenson, in 1874 was nominated for Congress by his party. At that time the district was strongly Republican, scarcely varying from a majority for the candidates on that ticket of three thousand. The Democratic party was minded that an undercurrent of opposition to the Republican administration was likely to place some Democrat in the halls of Congress, and, casting about for the strongest man in the district, took Mr. Stevenson from his law office and made him the party nominee. They felt that with his personality he could win. His nomination was an enthusiastic one, and he entered the campaign fired with a determination to do his best and win if possible.

It was a heated campaign. Feelings ran high, but to the everlasting credit of both Mr. Stevenson and his opponent, their part of the campaign was conducted with decency and honor. He made his appeal to the younger element in the district, and there being many former residents of the Blue Grass state residing in the district, who felt more than a passing interest in the young Kentuckian, these elements rallied to his support with a great deal of enthusiasm. The Republican leaders early felt the impact of the canvass and began to feel they might lose their candidate. They could not fathom nor suppress the tide and fought with stubborn resistance till the last. But Stevenson's popularity stood him well in hand, and he was elected with a handsome majority.

### **AN ABLE CONGRESSMAN**

His entrance into the Forty-fourth Congress was hailed as an omen of the coming national supremacy of the Democratic party. With dignity

and without ostentation he entered upon his duties. Carefully attentive to the duties of his station, he was ready at all times to perform his task, and soon was classed among the better informed of the members of the House. He was well versed in the law, and what he might have to say on any subject under debate was given due consideration. He had as compatriots in the House at that term many of the greatest statesmen of the day. This was the Congress which was called upon to settle the election dispute between Tilden and Hayes in which the electoral votes of Florida and Louisiana were in dispute. He entered into the debate, and his speech delivered at that time created a profound impression on his colleagues. He numbered among his good friends at that time such men as Blaine, Carlisle, Hoar, Garfield, Lamar, Knott and McKinley.

### **WAS DEFEATED FOR RE-ELECTION**

He stood for re-election in 1876 and was defeated by a small majority. But the following general election found him again on the ticket, and this time he was elected. In the Forty-sixth Congress he continued the work he had begun in his previous term and returned home at the end of the session with his reputation well established. Deciding not to run again for Congress he again became active in his office with his partner. This firm was considered one of the very best and most successful in the state at that time.

In 1880 and 1884 he was a delegate to the National Democratic Conventions and took an active part in the deliberations. In 1884 he was active in the campaign for Cleveland and Hendricks, and for his work was honored by the President by being called to Washington and offered the First Assistant Postmaster General's place. He accepted and for four years was attentive to his duties. Here he made many friends and formed ties which stood him well in hand when he later was nominated with Mr. Cleveland in 1892. In the memorable campaign of that year Mr. Stevenson did yeoman service for the ticket. He travelled much and spoke to large crowds over the country. Everywhere it was his warm personality that helped to place the ticket to the fore. His personal popularity in his own state helped to carry the state by twenty-seven thousand, the first time the Republicans had lost it since 1860.



His many friends in the state went wild with enthusiasm when the returns showed his elevation to the second office in the nation. Enthusiastic meetings were held everywhere to send their greetings to the successful man.

### **WON RESPECT OF ALL**

His election to the Vice-Presidency was the culmination of his career. As presiding officer of the Senate he was courtly, dignified, self-poised and fair, and challenged the cordial respect of both parties in that distinguished body.

This was attested when at the close of his tenure of office he was presented with a silver service and a written testimonial from the gifted pen of his former colleague in the House, Senator George Hoar of Massachusetts. His words of appreciation and his farewell address to the Senate were gracious and eloquent pieces of oratory.

He was a favorite of President McKinley, who when making his first appointments made Mr. Stevenson a member of the Bi-Metallic Commission, which was made in pursuance of congressional enactment. The labors of this commission, despite its able and faithful service, were confronted with the antagonism of financial interest the world over, and were practically fruitless. In 1900 he was again nominated for Vice-President; this time with Bryan, but failed of election.

### **HIS RACE FOR GOVERNOR**

In 1908 Mr. Stevenson was to make his last important political campaign. He was nominated for Governor of Illinois against the incumbent Charles S. Deneen. This was another of those close and hard fought campaigns. Enthusiasm on both sides ran high and it was a vigorous contest. Mr. Stevenson's popularity is shown to have been very great as attested by the vote. In 1904 Deneen had carried the state by three hundred thousand, while in 1908 Mr. Stevenson reduced the former's majority to twenty-three thousand, even though the Republicans carried the state for the President by a majority of one hundred seventy-nine thousand. Claims were made that had the vote been correctly tabulated Mr. Stevenson would have been elected, and that he was cheated out of the office by fraud.

Mr. Stevenson stands forth as a man whose best qualities were of nobler stamp than those of a mere candidate for official place. There was in him a guiding light that made him greater and grander than could all the honors that were linked with his name. His close friendships, devotion to books, appreciation of art, and love of family filled him with an inspiration that guided his aspirations more wisely and firmly than the shouts of a party loving crowd. He felt that life held more than just party strife, and tried to show his followers the better part.

### **AN IMPRESSIVE SPEAKER**

Mr. Stevenson was an orator worthy of being classed with the best. His close attention to business and his fidelity to his friends, his courtly manner and his dignity and grace made him a general favorite. He was never interested in intrigues and felt that any campaign could be carried to a successful conclusion without any of the political chicanery which was so prevalent in his day. His book "Something of Men I Have Known," written during his retirement from business cares, is replete with stories and impressions of the men with whom he had been connected in his busy career. The pages were so free and unsullied that he dedicated the volume to his wife, "Letitia Green Stevenson, the patient listener to these twice-told tales."

Mr. Stevenson was married to Miss Letitia Green, daughter of a minister in Kentucky, on December 20, 1866. Four children were born to them, one son, Lewis Green, and three daughters.

Early in 1914 Mrs. Stevenson died, and Mr. Stevenson suffered a serious breakdown and nervous prostration followed. For several weeks he was seriously ill, until on June 14 he passed away at the Presbyterian Hospital in Chicago.

### **NO STAIN TOUCHED HIM**

It was said of him: "He had an irresistible power of humor without frivolity; a profound sense of life's seriousness without heaviness; dignity without dullness; honor without hauteur; no stain ever touched his garments, and not even the breath of suspicion ever rested upon his good name."

His funeral cortege was one of the largest ever seen in the state. His body was brought back to Bloomington and laid to rest by the side of his wife who had preceded him but a short time. The mayor of the city issued a proclamation calling on the business men of the city to close their stores and offices during the ceremonies. His eulogy was one which displayed the love and admiration of his fellow townsmen for the departed man. Such a man deserves the admiration of the people of the nation for his ability to walk in the paths of rectitude while surrounded by the vices of public life.

## **PECULIAR HEADLINES INCIDENTAL TO ALTGELD INAUGURATION OF 1893**

Newspaper copy readers—the men and women who write the headlines that go over the various stories—have their daily troubles in determining news values!

For, obviously the heading should reflect the more important incident or incidents told in the story.

Yet, in looking over the files of some of the newspapers of Illinois of that period, one is surprised to find such headings as “Pickpockets Busy at Ceremony” and “Thieves Reap Harvest” rather than what would seem to be the more engrossing incidents connected with the Altgeld induction.

Undoubtedly, the crowds assembled for the first Democratic inauguration in so many years, attracted a throng record-breaking in numbers up to that time.

Also, there is no doubt that pickpockets were busy in the crowd, and that they reaped much bounty for their labors.

But their political identity was never revealed and, while three of them were captured and convicted, the news record gives no indication as to whether they were Democrats, Republicans or “Mugwumps.”

### **ALTGELD A SICK MAN**

John Peter Altgeld never was a man of strong constitution and there is no doubt he was a sick man on the day of his inauguration. From the files of several papers, the author culls the following synopsis of the event and one which may be regarded as substantially correct.

The induction of the newly elected state officers took place on January 10, 1893. The ceremonies were held in Representative Hall, which had been beautifully decorated for the occasion, both branches of the

assembly being present as well as an impressive concourse of party leaders.

The hall was filled to a point of discomfort.

Altgeld entered, leaning somewhat wearily on the arm of Governor Joseph Fifer.

The latter delivered his retiring address, and spoke with much feeling but with no rancor.

Governor Altgeld followed with his inaugural.

He looked to be in decidedly poor health, and he read his pages with apparent effort.

Finally he was compelled to turn the manuscript over to the clerk of the house, who finished its reading.

The address, like virtually all of Altgeld's, was an able one, but the evident physical weakness of the new governor made the occasion appear solemn rather than joyous.

Many prophesied that Altgeld would not live to complete his term—a prediction which, fortunately, was not borne out.

The whole city of Springfield was crowded for the occasion, and the pickpockets already mentioned, found easy prey. Some had worked their way into the assembly hall and, while the ceremonies were going on, Senator Hamer, of Fulton county, was robbed of several hundred dollars.

The closeness of the atmosphere had caused the senator to become sick and, on attempting to leave the room, his money was forcibly taken from him near the main entrance to the hall, and was done so cleverly that no one other than the senator and the robbers, knew what was going on.

### **JOLLIFICATION FOLLOWED**

When the ceremonies were over and the state capitol of Illinois was occupied by Democratic officials for the first time since before the Civil War, a veritable gala was held.

Until then, the clerk of the Supreme Court, Ethan Allen Snively, and the clerk of the Appellate Court, George W. Jones, had been about

the only Democratic officials who had been able to keep their desks at the capitol.

Once or twice a state superintendent of public instruction had been a Democrat, and that office and that of the state treasurer had been Democratic since January, 1891, but Snively's and Jones' corner had been the Democratic mecca for nearly a generation, and when those good party men later were swept out of office, in 1894, many a member of the Illinois Democracy felt deep and personal regret.





## **WORDS OF ALTGELD THAT DEMONSTRATE THE TRUE CHARACTER OF THE MAN**

Both during the four years of his administration and after, it is to be doubted if any Democratic governor of Illinois, or state executive of the party for that matter, ever was more condemned and reviled than John Peter Altgeld.

Yet, especially in the long years of Democratic defeat that ensued between the end of his term of office in 1897 and that year of 1912 when sweeping victory again came to the Illinois Democracy, he became a sort of patron saint—an idol sacred to a large proportion of the rank and file of his party in our state.

During those years, too, even with those that had and still condemned his policies, there was a growing appreciation of the high spiritual motives of the man.

To many who love the deeper tones of oratory, there has been a feeling that one of the public utterances of John Peter Altgeld belongs in that immortal class that may be exemplified by Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death" and by Lincoln's Gettysburg address. This address, delivered at the close of his administration and especially addressed to the young men of Illinois and of the nation, was in the following striking words:

"Young men, life is before you. Two voices are calling you—one coming from the swamps of selfishness and force, where success means death; and the other from the hilltops of justice and progress, where even failure brings glory. Two lights are seen in your horizon—one the fast fading marsh light of power, and the other the slowly rising sun of human brotherhood. Two ways lie open for you—one leading to an ever lower and lower plain, where are heard the cries of despair and the curses of the poor, where manhood shrivels and possession rots down

the possessor; and the other leading off to the highlands of the morning, where are heard the glad shouts of humanity and where honest effort is rewarded with immortality.”

To the writer, then a quite young man, who knew and admired John Peter Altgeld, it would seem that nothing could illustrate the true character of that great Illinois Democrat than these words uttered by himself.

### AN UNUSUAL INTRODUCTION

Because of the high regard in which Altgeld had come to be held by the Illinois Democracy, it hardly could be said to be out of place that the Blue Book issued for 1913-1914, contained as its frontispiece, a portrait of Former Governor Altgeld and the excerpt from his address as quoted above.

And that same Blue Book contained this noteworthy introduction:

“Here in this introduction and the advent of an administration that proposes to present facts and a true history of events to a people who are both just and generous when fully informed, but whose time, because of unjust social conditions, too fully is occupied in making a living for themselves and those dear to them to watch political events with that carefulness which, under more natural conditions, would prove profitable, we are endeavoring to furnish in these pages a history that should be studied and preserved.

“The frontispiece in memory of the late governor, John Peter Altgeld, who was villified and maligned in life, because he dared to stand for the persecuted and downtrodden, at a time when soldiers were few in the cause of humanity, is most fitting to be presented to our people in this age when truth and justice is once more in the ascendency.

“To that gathering which howled him down when delivering his address at the close of his administration, to those who followed the lead of the plutocratic press (‘Forgive them for they know not what they do’) this introduction will not be pleasing, but it has been too long delayed, to those who seek the truth and would follow it.

“His message to young men which faces his likeness, has become, to those who knew the man as sacred as a prayer.

“Enough of this edition has been permitted, through the State Board of Contracts, so that a copy can be furnished to every school in the State, in the hope that it may be appreciated and preserved as a part of the history of the great State of Illinois.

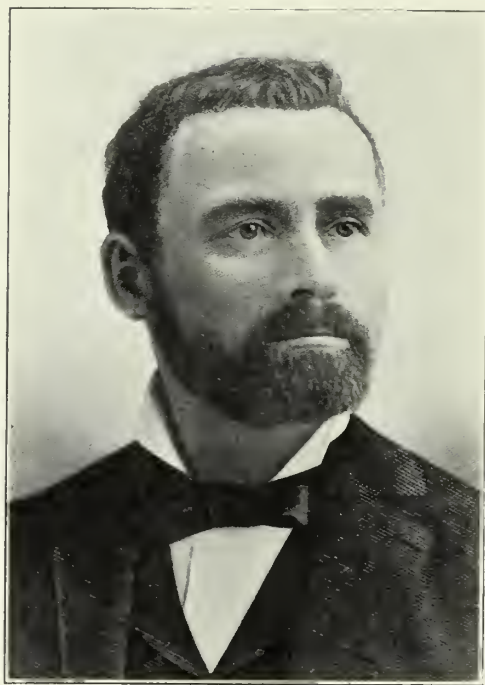
“Illinois has not lived in vain, but it is the future that must prove that her foundations were well laid. Ever forward, freedom beckons—freedom to worship—freedom of speech—freedom of press—freedom to trade—all these are advancing.

“Freedom of opportunity is the Star in the East, the goal we are seeking, its light disclosing the brotherhood of man based upon the universal fatherhood of God.”









JOHN P. ALTGELD

## **STIRRING DAYS OF ALTGELD ADMINISTRATION WERE FULL OF INTENSIVE DRAMA !**

It is to be doubted if any Democratic administration in the history of Illinois had larger fill of really intensive drama than the one headed by John Peter Altgeld.

Highlights of that term included:

The pardoning of the so-called Chicago anarchists—Fielden, Schwab and Neebe—who had escaped that capital punishment meted out to several of their fellow defendants as a sequel to the Haymarket tragedy.

The World's Columbian exposition, which is held in memory by many residents of Illinois and other states, as having been of much greater magnificence, of far more inspiration, than the Chicago World's Fairs of 1933 and 1934, notable as were the latter.

The assassination of that mayor who had so endeared himself to the Democracy of Illinois, and to men and women of all parties, Carter H. Harrison the Elder, in the closing days of that exposition at the hands of the crazy Prendergast, who afterward was hanged for the crime.

The Pullman strike with its weeks of violence and killings.

The protest of Governor Altgeld against the action of President Grover Cleveland in sending federal troops to Chicago, and in the determined resistance of the national executive that those troops would remain.

The destruction of the beautiful World's Fair buildings by fire—regarded by many as part and parcel of the Pullman strike.

The activities of the then newly-formed American Railway Union, under the guidance of the brilliant but erratic Eugene V. Debs, with its resultant imprisonment of Debs and some of his associates.

This epitome, in itself, will give some idea of the stirring times of 1893 to 1896, but couple them with the constant political drama then enacted, and you will see why some historians have not hesitated to pronounce the Altgeld term the most interesting of all Illinois administrations.

### **STORMS BROKE EARLY**

Storms broke early in the term.

When Altgeld entered office there were many rumors to the effect that, during his campaign for the governorship, he had promised the Chicago Amnesty Association that, if elected, he would pardon Fielden, Schwab and Neebe.

The unbiased searcher after facts will find no warrant for these rumors.

The Chicago Amnesty Association had been formed in 1890, having for its avowed object the release of the three Haymarket defendants then imprisoned in the Joliet penitentiary.

Permanent residents of Chicago, regardless of party, had enrolled in its membership, with S. E. Gross, then one of that city's best-known and successful real estate men, among its most active proponents.

Gross had supported Altgeld in the campaign and this appears to be the only basis for the claim that the new governor had made the rumored pre-election pledge.

Altgeld, himself, denied any such promise having been made and those who best knew the unyielding truthfulness of the man, never doubted his word.

In considering the events that led up to the pardon of the then famous trio, it should be noted that many of the leading men and women not only of Illinois, but of other states, had added their voices to the pleas that they should be released.

Among these were such occupants of the hall of fame as Robert G. Ingersoll, Joseph Pulitzer, Lyman J. Gage, and William Dean Howells, the latter being then the best known and most widely read of American novelists.

### **DARROW MOST INSISTENT**

But, perhaps, the most insistent of all the pardon advocates was

Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, then only at the beginning of that great renown which was to come to him later.

Darrow did not hesitate at quite bitter criticism of Altgeld's failure to act more promptly in the matter.

But the attitude of the governor throughout was along the lines of calm equity.

"If these men really are guilty, their punishment has been too little rather than too much," was the way he put it, coupled with the announcement that he would do nothing until he had made full investigation of the court record.

### HUGE PETITION PRESENTED

Early in 1893, a petition bearing the signatures of 62,341 men and women, was presented to the governor.

It had been circulated by the Chicago Amnesty Association and, while the number of signatures may appear small in these later days, it was a record breaker at the time it was presented.

In connection with its being handed to the governor, a statement was made to the effect that among the signatures were those of every railway president and of every bank executive of Chicago.

This may or may not have been entirely true, but anyway, it made no difference to Altgeld, who again informed the petitioners that no action would be taken by him until he had completed his investigation.

To enable him to a full understanding of the case, he obtained a complete transcript of the record of the trial and testimony as filed in the supreme court of Illinois, to which an appeal had been taken and which tribunal had confirmed the judgment of the lower court.

### FEARED FOR HIS FUTURE

Before the governor had announced his decision in the matter, there were persistent rumors that it would be in favor of the defendants.

Some of Altgeld's closest friends and political lieutenants, including Secretary of State Hinrichsen, were reported as being much alarmed at these rumors and were said to have gone to the governor and told him that, especially in view of the fact that the supreme

court had fully reviewed the case, any action not in keeping with the judgment of that body roundly would be condemned by the people of Illinois, and would be Altgeld's political death knoll.

### **ALTGELD'S REPLY**

The governor's reply was: "I am reviewing this case with open mind and will decide it on the facts. By God, if I decide that these men are innocent, I will pardon them if I never hold office another day!"

On June 26, 1893, Governor Altgeld issued a "full and complete pardon" to the imprisoned trio.

Then the storm broke!

Vigorous protests came from many sections of the state, as well as from other commonwealths.

Some of these protests were from men who previously had been Altgeld's loyal supporters.

There can be little doubt that the governor's action, courageous and well-considered as it had been, was a factor in the party defeats that marked Illinois Democratic campaigns for years thereafter.

### **THAT CLEVELAND EPISODE**

Briefly stated, the episode that brought John Peter Altgeld into open conflict with a Democratic president was:

Early in July 1894, the Pullman strike had flared into a veritable storm of violence and there had been several killings and much destruction of property.

Among the trains reported to have been interfered with by the strikers were several carrying the United States mails, and this was held to be sufficient warrant to call for federal action.

It may be stated here that, in several subsequent railway strikes where mail trains had been attacked or their passage interfered with, the action taken by President Cleveland at that time had been followed and fully sustained.

### **FEDERAL TROOPS ORDERED**

By a coincidence, department headquarters of the United States army then were located on an upper floor of the Pullman building, in



Michigan avenue, which also contained the executive offices of the Pullman Car Company, against whom the strike was being directed.

Of course, there was nothing but mere coincidence in this, but it led several of the more intemperate among the strikers to intimate that Grover Cleveland's action in the matter was influenced by the close proximity of the Pullman offices to army headquarters.

That fine soldier and excellent Democrat, whose name later was to be considered by the St. Louis national convention of 1894 as a possible Democratic nominee for president of the United States, General Nelson A. Miles, was department commander.

On July 4, 1894, General Miles received instructions from the war department at Washington, to move all troops from Fort Sheridan into Chicago "for the purpose of preserving property of the United States and for preventing interference with United States mails."

Miles, of course, immediately complied with the order.

Governor Altgeld forthwith protested by wire, direct to the president, against the action which he declared to be "a clear and unwarranted intrusion on the rights of the State of Illinois."

President Cleveland's reply, also by wire, was received the following day.

It stated that there was no thought of any intrusion of the rights of the State of Illinois, and that the action taken by him, in ordering out the federal troops, was clearly within his duty and in keeping with the authority imposed on him by the constitution of the United States.

### AN UNPREJUDICED CONCLUSION

It is the controlling thought in the compiling of this history of the Illinois Democracy, that it shall state the facts as they actually occurred and without bias to any faction of that Democracy, or of the Democracy of the nation.

Impartial review of the facts connected with the Altgeld protest to the president, which made a great sensation at that time, must lead to these conclusions:

That Governor Altgeld was entirely conscientious in his protest to the president.

That President Cleveland was equally conscientious in taking the action that he did.



That the coming of the federal troops to Chicago undoubtedly went a long way in checking the grave disorder and riotous conditions that had prevailed before they came.

Nor would it be fair to close this brief story of the episode without paying tribute to the unfailing equity and kindly judgment of General Nelson A. Miles, whose fair disposition never failed him, even in moments of great stress.

### HIS LIFE'S STORY

John Peter Altgeld had been born in Prussia, of humble parents, December 30, 1847.

Throughout most of his career, he had known the long, hard road of poverty.

If he always had deep sympathy for the poor and the oppressed, it hardly could have been otherwise, for he had been one of them.

An emigrant lad, who often had known what it meant to go hungry, at the age of sixteen years, he had enlisted, May 1864, as a private in the 163rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

After the war he was, in turn:

A farm hand.

A day laborer.

A huckster.

A "hobo" (to use his own word).

A lawyer.

A judge of the superior court of Cook county, from which office he resigned August 1, 1891, before entering the race for governor.

A real estate dealer.

A capitalist, and one who was rated as being either a millionaire or close thereto.

An owner of one of Chicago's earlier office structures, the Unity building.

Like Lincoln, he largely was self-educated.

He left the governor's chair a virtual bankrupt.

The later days of his life were mostly of sickness, and of comparative poverty.

He died in Chicago where so many of his bravest battles had been fought, on March 12, 1902, at the age of 54 years.

**“THE EAGLE THAT IS FORGOTTEN”**

The author of this history of the Illinois Democracy knows of no better, nor more fitting way to conclude this chapter of the career of this courageous son of that Democracy, than in the words that were penned by another of Illinois' immortal sons, that sweet singer of Springfield, the poet of the great vision, Nicholas Vachel Lindsay:

**THE EAGLE THAT IS FORGOTTEN**

(John P. Altgeld. Born December 30, 1847; died  
March 12, 1902)

Sleep softly . . . eagle forgotten . . . under the stone.  
Time has its way with you there, and the clay has its own.

“We have buried him now,” thought your foes, and in secret rejoiced.  
They made a brave show of their mourning, their hatred unvoiced.  
They had snarled at you, barked at you, foamed at you day after day.  
Now you were ended. They praised you, . . . and laid you away.

The others that mourned you in silence and terror and truth,  
The widow bereft of her crust, and the boy without youth,  
The mocked and the scorned and the wounded, the lame and the poor  
That should have remembered forever, . . . remember no more.

Where are those lovers of yours, on what name do they call  
The lost, that in armies wept over your funeral pall?  
They call on the names of a hundred high-valiant ones,  
A hundred white eagles have risen the sons of your sons,  
The zeal in their wings is a zeal that your dreaming began  
The valor that wore out your soul in the service of man.

Sleep softly, . . . eagle forgotten, . . . under the stone,  
Time has its way with you there and the clay has its own.  
Sleep on, O brave-hearted, O wise man, that kindled the flame—  
To live in mankind is far more than to live in a name,  
To live in mankind, far, far more . . . than to live in a name.



## **SOME CALLED THIS UNUSUAL GATHERING “A RUMP CONVENTION”**

An unusual happening of the Altgeld administration, and one that, for the most part, has been overlooked by earlier historians, was the calling of a Democratic state convention in extraordinary session on June 5, 1895.

At the time, the opponents of Altgeld in his own party, denounced the gathering as being a “rump convention.”

Yet it bore none of the traditional earmarks of the “rump” or irregular.

It was largely attended and undoubtedly was representative of the majority sentiment of the Illinois Democracy of that year.

The convention was called under circumstances that briefly may be stated as follows:

Hostility to Grover Cleveland’s administration had been steadily growing among the Democrats of Illinois—indeed among many of the Democrats of the nation, especially in the south and west.

The disastrous results of the election of 1894 had intensified that antagonism to the national executive.

The president’s course on the money question was distasteful to that large and growing element in the party which was favorable to the remonetization of silver.

Many of the leading Democrats of our own state believed that, unless something was done and done quickly, to contravert the Cleveland policies, the Democratic party of the state was in danger of annihilation.

This belief was held and openly expressed both by Governor Altgeld and by Secretary of State Hinrichsen, the latter being the chairman of the state central committee.

A large majority of the members of that committee had shown that they shared these opinions.

To crystallize the sentiment, the committee called the Democracy of the state to meet in extraordinary convention "to induce the Democratic party, as a party, to assume and pursue a decided position on the currency question, and to draw its party lines according to the undoubted wishes of a majority of its members."

The convention met in Springfield on June 5, 1895.

It consisted of 1,076 delegates, on the basis of one delegate for every 300 votes or a fraction of 150 or over, that had been cast for the Democratic candidate for state treasurer in 1894.

The convention proved overwhelmingly and enthusiastically in favor of the remonetization of silver.

Monroe C. Crawford, of Union county, was the temporary chairman.

He had been a distinguished Union soldier during the Civil War, and was a recognized wheelhorse of the Democracy of southern Illinois.

### **BRYAN A SPEAKER**

The permanent chairman was Judge Samuel P. McConnell, of Chicago. Addresses, in the order of their giving, were made by State Chairman Hinrichson, Judge Crawford, Judge McConnell, Judge Andrew J. Hunter, Governor Altgeld, Editor Michaelis, of the "Freie Presse," a leading German-American publication of Chicago, and by the "Peerless Leader," William Jennings Bryan, of Lincoln, Nebraska.

Bryan already had gained much renown as an orator, and his appearance on the platform was a signal for an ovation which lasted for nearly six minutes.

His address frequently was punctuated by tumultuous applause, and at its conclusion there was another great demonstration.

After Mr. Bryan had finished, a letter from Governor William J. Stone, of Missouri, an early advocate of free silver, was read and, again, there was a great outburst.

Former Congressman George W. Fithian had been named as chairman of the committee of resolutions and, among the declarations which he reported, was the following:

“Resolved, by the Democrats of Illinois in convention assembled, that we are in favor of the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the United States.

“We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both metals at the ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the action of any other nation, and such coin shall be legal tender, for all debts both public and private.

“That all contracts hereafter executed for the payment of money, whether in gold, silver, or coin, may be discharged by any money which is by law legal tender.”

### SEVERE CRITICISM FOLLOWS

The action of the state central committee in calling the convention, as well as the action of the convention itself, severely was criticized by a considerable number of prominent Illinois Democrats.

Among these were Senator John M. Palmer, while most all of those who were holding important federal positions under the federal government, throughout Illinois, vigorously joined in the protest.

But these were not the only protestants by any means.

Many, who for decades, had been devoted followers of the principles of the Illinois Democracy, and who were holding no official position, did not hesitate to denounce the unusual action that had been taken in Springfield in June, 1895.

The claim was made that this action not only was unusual, but was unauthorized by any party rule or regulation.

Then too, there were many Illinois Democrats who, while not approving either the convention or its action, declined to make public utterance at the time.

### ACTION SHOWED POSITION

The action of that 1895 extraordinary convention undoubtedly showed the Democracy of Illinois to be hostile to the course which President Cleveland was pursuing on the paramount money question.

But there were many Illinois Democrats still decidedly friendly to the national administration and they undertook to stem the growing tide in favor of the remonetization of silver.



**"COIN" HARVEY'S BOOK**

A little book written by W. H. Harvey, of Chicago, entitled "Coin's Financial School" had been published and was being widely read, particularly throughout Illinois and the central west.

To counteract the influence of this, the Chicago Tribune and numerous other newspapers committed to maintaining the gold standing, violently assailed, not only "Coin" Harvey's book but virtually everything connected with the silver movement, and many pamphlets were published professing to expose the alleged fallacies of free silver.

**CARLISLE IS SPEAKER**

On April 5, 1896, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, secretary of the treasury and one of the most distinguished of all-time Democrats, journeyed to Chicago and delivered a brilliant address at the Auditorium on the money question. He emphatically opposed the remonetization of silver and eloquently upheld the gold standard.

Secretary Carlisle's address undoubtedly had its effect, and there were some who declared that he had gone a long way toward checking the onrush of free silver advocates.

Therefore, on May 16 of that year, Governor John P. Altgeld arranged a free silver meeting and during one of his characteristically able addresses, in the same auditorium in which Secretary Carlisle had spoken, he answered that cabinet member.

Carlisle's meeting had been well attended, and there had been few vacant seats.

But that of the governor drew a crowded house.

Not a single vacant seat was in evidence when the meeting got under way, and the enthusiasm was tremendous.

Thus, the contest between the Cleveland and Anti-Cleveland Democrats up for the control of the Illinois delegation to the national convention of 1896, got its real start.

The gold Democrats of Cook county had another meeting in Chicago in April of that year and, while vigorously denouncing the free silver movement, they had unanimously endorsed John P. Altgeld for re-election as governor.

But the governor, in a public interview immediately thereafter, not only refused the endorsement, but derided it.

Later, Governor Altgeld went from Springfield to Chicago and took personal charge of the campaign in Cook county.

It was a hard, bitter fight and, undoubtedly, wounds were made in those weeks of interparty strife that counted on the wrong side of the ledger in the campaigns which were held for years thereafter and which, in some measure, at least, accounted for the repeated and disastrous defeats which the Illinois Democracy was to meet for many subsequent years.

The Anti-Cleveland, or Silver Democrats, won out in Chicago as they did elsewhere.

They controlled the Cook county convention and sent a solid delegation in support of Altgeld and of free silver, to the state convention when it convened in Peoria the following June.



## ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY IN THE YEAR MARKED BY "CROSS OF GOLD" SPEECH

It is to be doubted whether any address by Demosthenes, by Patrick Henry, by William Ewart Gladstone, or by other more or less recognized orator in any period of the world's history, had quite so large an effect on the destinies of his party or of a nation, as the historic "Cross of Gold" speech of William Jennings Bryan, native son of Illinois Democracy, at the Chicago convention of 1896.

For one thing, that address made the then comparatively unknown young man who delivered it, the presidential nominee of his party—not once, nor twice, but three times.

But, more than this, that address and its accompanying commitment of the Democracy to the cause of free silver in "the heaven-born ratio of 16 to 1" brought schisms in the ranks of the party that were large factors in the defeat of the Democratic tickets for long years thereafter.

The dramatic events of the Democratic national convention of July of that year touched the Democracy of Illinois closer than it did that of most other states; not only because the peerless leader was one who had had his beginnings with our own people, but because it was held in our own city of Chicago.

The writer, then a quite young man, was in that great historical gathering, and was carried away with the others, in the mighty wave of enthusiasm with which it was greeted.

He has distinct memories of all the events of that great convention—of the enduring figure of John Peter Altgeld, one of the strong men of the assemblage — of Governor Russell of Massachusetts, and of the others.

But rather than trust to remembrance so many years after, he has thought it better to cull the more formal facts from the record as it then was written.

### **ILLINOIS TOOK LEADING PART**

The convention was called to order July 7, 1896.

Illinois took a leading part throughout.

Governor Altgeld was made chairman of the delegation, and C. W. Bliss of Hillsboro, secretary.

There was pronounced sentiment in the Illinois delegation favorable to Richard Parks Bland, of Missouri, as the presidential candidate.

This was strongest with the delegates from the southern half of the state, but was shared by Governor Altgeld.

A few were favorable to Horace Boies, the distinguished Democrat who had been elected governor of Iowa, while Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson had several votes in his delegation, as did Justice Alfred M. Craig, of the State Supreme Court.

William J. Bryan from the very beginning had friends there, who would have been glad to vote for him from the start if they had thought he stood any real chance; but Dr. Felix Rignier, of Monmouth, was the one who was outspoken for Bryan even before the convention met.

### **BLAND WAS FAVORITE**

Bland, however, early had a clear majority of the Illinois delegation and, under unit rule, the delegates were bound to vote solidly for the great Missourian, and this unanimously had been agreed to the day before the convention met.

Members from Illinois of various committees of the convention were:

Credentials: A. H. Hope, Alton.

Permanent Organization: Judge William Prentiss, Chicago.

Rules: George W. Fithian, Newton.

Resolutions: N. E. Worthington, Peoria.

### **SEVERAL ILLINOIS SPEAKERS**

Illinois delegates who made speeches before the convention included Charles K. Ladd, who took part in the debate over the temporary chair-

manship; J. R. Williams, of Carmi, who seconded the nomination of Bland; Free P. Morris, of Watseka, and George W. Fithian, of Newton, each of whom seconded the nomination of Sibley, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President later in the proceedings.

Governor Altgeld also addressed the convention at its unanimous invitation.

After Mr. Bryan had made his speech closing the debate on majority and minority reports as to the party platform, the Eloquent Nebraskan's stock rose very rapidly among the Illinois delegates.

Those who had been friendly to him before began to work more vigorously for him now, both in their own delegation and among those from other states.

The Illinois delegation, however, because of its previous agreement to vote for Bland, who had so many friends in the delegation and who were adhering to him tenaciously, was recorded for the Missourian on the earlier ballots.

During the third and fourth ballots, however, the Bryan sentiment in the delegation became so pronounced that, immediately after the fourth ballot, Governor Altgeld called on the delegation to retire from the hall for a further conference.

In the caucus Altgeld insisted that the roll be called without any speech making, and that each delegate again should state his preference for president.

Former Congressman, J. R. Williams, however, made an earnest, though short appeal for Bland, and pleaded with every delegate to stand by the original unit roll agreement.

On the roll call, the first name was that of Governor Altgeld, and he voted for Bryan, but before it could be recorded there was much interruption.

The noise and confusion became very great, and it was with much difficulty that the responses of the delegates could be heard by Secretary Bliss.

There was trouble over the tally and the roll was called several times.



**WANTED ALTGELD TO DECIDE**

Finally a delegate proposed that, as Governor Altgeld, head of the state ticket for re-election, had more at stake than anyone else, he should be allowed to name the man for whom the delegation would vote.

This the governor very emphatically refused to do.

Instead, he stated that he would not vote, himself, but would abide by the selection that a majority of the delegates might see fit to make.

Thereupon, the delegation divided into two groups—one for Bland and the other for Bryan.

Altgeld and one or two others, declined to join either group.

On counting the tallies, there were four more for Bryan than for Bland, and thereupon it was agreed that the solid vote of the delegation on the last ballot should be cast for the Nebraskan.

Returning to the convention, this was done.

Illinois' action created a veritable stampede, and the final outcome hardly was in doubt.

Ohio promptly withdrew the name of its favorite son, John R. McLean, of Cincinnati, and voted for Bryan.

Other states followed suit and, on the fifth ballot, Bryan was nominated, receiving 642 votes.

The whole number of delegates in the convention was 930.

After the great demonstration following Bryan's nomination, another caucus of the delegates was held and, at it, Illinois decided to cast its vote for Joseph C. Sibley, of Pennsylvania, as the candidate for vice-president.

Illinois and several other states were strong for Sibley, but Arthur Sewall, of Maine, said to be the personal choice of Mr. Bryan, was nominated as his running mate.

**THE NEVER-TO-BE-FORGOTTEN  
"CROSS OF GOLD" SPEECH  
AT CHICAGO CONVENTION**

"I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened, if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity.

"When this debate is concluded, a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the administration. We object to bringing this question down to the level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but principles are eternal; and this has been a contest over a principle.

"Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have just passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out as this issue has been, by the voters of a great party. On the 4th of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; declaring that a majority of the Democratic party had the right to control the action of the party on this paramount issue; and concluding with the request that the believers in the free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should organize, take charge of, and control the policy of the Democratic party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that, if successful, they would crystallize into a platform the declaration which they had made. Then began the conflict. With a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit, our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory until they are now assembled, not

to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment already rendered by the plain people of this country. In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother, father against son. The warmest ties of love, acquaintance and association have been disregarded; old leaders have been cast aside when they have refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever imposed upon representatives of the people.

“We do not come as individuals. As individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York (Senator Hill), but we know that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic party. I say it was not a question of persons; it was a question of principle, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side.

“The gentleman who preceded me (Former-Governor Russell) spoke for the State of Massachusetts, but we stand here representing people who are the equals, before the law, of the greatest citizen in the State of Massachusetts. When you (turning to the gold delegates) come before us and tell us that we are about to disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course.

“We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer; the attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day—who begins in the spring and toils all summer—and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as

much business men as the few financial magnates who in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak for this broader class of business men.

“Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—the pioneers away out there (pointing to the west), who rear their children near to Nature’s heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected school-houses for the education of their young, churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where rest the ashes of their dead—these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no longer; we petition no more. We defy them.

“The gentleman from Wisconsin has said that he fears a Robespierre. My friends, in this land of the free you need not fear that a tyrant will spring up from among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand, as Jackson stood, against the encroachment of organized wealth.

“They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make new issues; that the principles upon which Democracy rests are as everlasting as the hills, but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise. Conditions have arisen, and we are here to meet these conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that it is a new idea. They criticize us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends we have not criticized; we have simply called attention to what you already know. If you want criticisms, read the dissenting opinions of the court. There you will find criticisms. They say that we passed an unconstitutional law; we deny it. The income tax law was

not unconstitutional when it was passed; it was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time; it did not become unconstitutional until one of the judges changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. The income tax is just. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.

“They say that we are opposing national bank currency; it is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said, you will find he said that, in searching history, he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson; that was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracy of Cataline and saved Rome. Benton said that Cicero only did for Rome what Jackson did for us when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America. We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe that it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy taxes. Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good Democratic authority, seems to have differed in opinion from the gentleman who addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them, as he did, that the issue of money is a function of government, and that the banks ought to go out of the governing business.

“They complain about the plank which declares against life tenure in office. They have tried to strain it to mean that which it does not mean. What we oppose by that plank is the life tenure which is being built up in Washington, and which excludes from participation in official benefits the humbler members of society. Let me call your attention to two or three important things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment to the platform providing that the proposed change in our monetary system shall not affect contracts already made.



Let me remind you that there is no intention of affecting those contracts which according to present laws are made payable in gold; but if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I desire to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find justification for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, if he now insists that we must protect the creditors.

“He says he will also propose an amendment which will provide for the suspension of free coinage if we fail to maintain the parity within a year. We reply that when we advocate a policy which we believe will be successful, we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by suggesting what we shall do if we fail. I ask him, if he would apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why does he not tell us what he is going to do if he fails to secure an international agreement? There is more reason for him to do that than there is for us to provide against the failure to maintain the parity. Our opponents have tried for twenty years to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who do not want it at all.

“And now, my friends, let me come to the paramount issue. If they ask us why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that, if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we do not embody in our platform all the things that we believe in, we reply that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other necessary reforms will be possible; but that until this is done there is no other reform that can be accomplished.

“Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believe in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President. And they have good reason for their doubt, because there is scarcely a state here today asking for the gold standard which is not in the absolute control of the Republican



party. But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform which declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it can be changed into bi-metalism by international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans and three months ago everybody in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it today? Why, the man who was once pleased to think that he looked like Napoleon—that man shudders today when he remembers that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. Not only that, but as he listens he can hear with ever-increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena.

“Why this change? Ah, my friends, is not the reason for the change evident to any one who will look at the matter? No private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people a man who will declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon the country, or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place the legislative control of our affairs in the hands of foreign potentates and powers.

“We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue of this campaign there is not a spot of ground which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. If they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we shall point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of the gold standard and substitute bi-metalism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it? I call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention today and who tell us that we ought to declare in favor of international bi-metalism—thereby declaring that the old standard is wrong and that the principle of bi-metalism is better—these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard, and were then telling us that we could not legislate two metals together, even with the aid of all the world. If the gold standard is a good thing, we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing why should we wait until other nations are willing to help

us to let go? Here is the line of battle, and we care not upon which issue they force the fight; we are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard and that both the great parties this year are declaring against it. If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it? If they come to meet us on that issue we can present the history of our nation. More than that; we can tell them that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance where the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of the gold standard. They can find where the holders of fixed investments have declared for the gold standard, but not where the masses have.

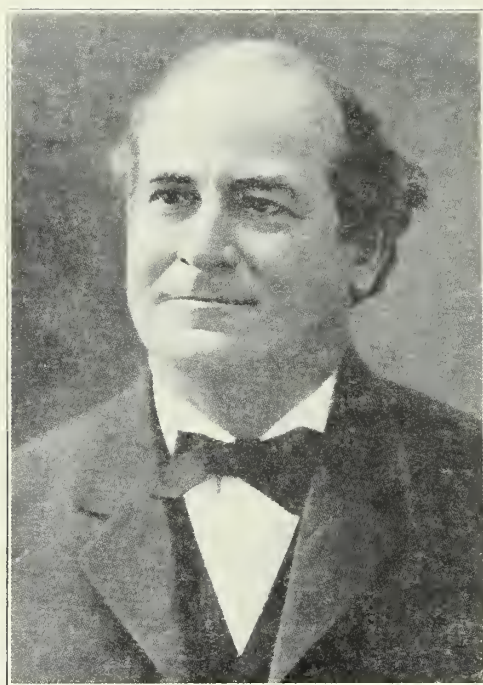
“Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between ‘the idle holders of idle capital’ and ‘the struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country’; and, my friends, the question we are to decide is: Upon which side will the Democratic party fight; upon the side of ‘the idle holders of idle capital’ or upon the side of ‘the struggling masses’? That is the question which the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that, if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

“You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

“My friends, we declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without waiting for the aid or consent

of any other nation on earth; and upon that issue we expect to carry every state in the Union. I shall not slander the inhabitants of the fair State of Massachusetts nor the inhabitants of the State of New York by saying that, when they are confronted with the proposition, they will declare that this nation is not able to attend to its own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, when but three millions in number, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation; shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy millions, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, that will never be the verdict of our people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bi-metalism is good, but that we cannot have it until other nations help us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we will restore bi-metalism, and then let England have bi-metalism because the United States has it. If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."





WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

## **A NATIVE SON OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY IS NAMED FOR PRESIDENT**

“I have kept the faith.”

With these words William Jennings Bryan, whose influence upon the Democratic Party as a whole never can be measured, carried many of his audiences to his way of thinking, and several times in conventions these words brought his opponents to his side of the question.

The life story of the “Boy Orator of the Platte” tells of a power which was to be reckoned with for a quarter of a century. On March 16, 1860, William Jennings Bryan was born in Salem, Illinois. His father, Silas L. Bryan, was a Circuit Judge, born in the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, who had come to Illinois to make his home while still a young man. Here he met Miss Maria Elizabeth Jennings, and they were united in marriage. To this union William Jennings Bryan was born.

The home in Salem was the average, as the elder Bryan had been a successful farmer as well as lawyer. At the age of six William moved with his family to the farm, where he knew the usual joys and labors of the farm lad. The father was a Baptist, while his mother was a member of the Methodist church. During his early manhood Judge Bryan had become seriously ill, and, on being informed by his physician that there was a possibility that he would not live, offered up a prayer to his Maker and promised the Lord that if he were brought back to health he would pray to Him three times every day. He recovered, and kept his promise. It is said that many times in his career as a trial judge he would stop some important suit, kneel down, and ask divine guidance for some decision which he was to make. William was early taught the value of prayer and of a religious life, and this fact is responsible for many of his activities, especially during his later years.



### A BORN POLITICIAN

William was a born politician. At the age of fourteen he decided to join the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and his reason for this act was that it was the largest denomination in the city and he wanted to be with the crowd. At the age of fifteen he was sent to Jacksonville, Illinois, where he enrolled in Whipple Academy, the preparatory school of Illinois College. In the grades William had not been particularly brilliant. His mother often had him to stand on a chair and make declamations and practice in the art of oratory. When he entered the academy he featured that particular branch of his education. He made some advancement in Whipple, not only in his grades, but in his oratorical efforts, and in his second year won a third prize in an oratorical contest.

At the age of seventeen, while his parents were absent for a visit in Virginia, he hauled corn to the market in order to obtain money to pay his expenses to St. Louis where the Democratic National Convention was to meet. He was present during that convention when Samuel H. Tilden was nominated for the Presidency. The contest, which was carried to the House of Representatives in Washington to decide whether Tilden or Hayes had received the votes of Florida and Louisiana, made quite an impression on the mind of the young man. His father being a Democrat, William naturally turned to that party.

### AT ILLINOIS COLLEGE

Illinois College was the center of culture in the Middle West at that time, and Bryan made good in his academic work. Here he met his future wife, Miss Mary Baird, of Perry, whose father, a storekeeper, had sent her to the Women's College in Jacksonville. He was among a number of young men invited to attend a tea given by the young ladies, and there the young couple first met. Bryan was living at the home of distant relatives just across the street from the dormitory where Miss Baird was staying, and in the evenings it was an easy matter for these young people to meet on their strolls about the campus.

The president of the Women's College, having learned of these clandestine meetings, dismissed Miss Baird for the remainder of that term,

and to avoid any embarrassing notoriety accompanied her to the train. After the train had started, a young man made his way from the baggage car to where Miss Baird was sitting, and William prevailed upon Mary to permit him to accompany her to her father's home and there to lay the case before her parents. Soon he stood before her father, a very nervous and agitated young man.

As in later years he turned to the Scriptures for his inspiration. "Mr. Baird," said William, "I have been reading Proverbs a good deal lately, and find that Solomon says, 'Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favor of the Lord'."

Mr. Baird also knew his Bible, and replied, "Yes, I believe Solomon did say that, but Paul suggests that while he that marrieth doeth well, he that marrieth not doeth better."

Bryan was nonplussed for a moment, and then replied, "Solomon would be the better authority on this point, because Paul never married, while Solomon had a number of wives."

### BRYAN'S MARRIAGE

This settled the matter. He completed his education and entered a law office in Jacksonville where he achieved some success. The young couple were united in marriage October 1, 1884. This love match continued throughout their remaining years. Mrs. Bryan later read law, and during his strenuous campaigns looked after many matters for him which enabled him to devote more of his time to the business in hand, that of achieving political success.

When William entered Illinois College his parents had planned that he should go from there to Oxford to complete his law course, but the death of his father just about the time of his graduation put an end to the plan. It is hard to tell what would have been the result and the influence upon the history of his country had Bryan gone to such staid, orthodox school. Its sophistication and worldiness would undoubtedly have made a great change in the life of this impressionable young man. Had he gone to Oxford he might not have become the Great Commoner and doubtless would not have risen to challenge the leadership of the master mind of politics, Mark Hanna, of Ohio. He would not have stood

in the halls of Congress and defied the President of his country. He would not have forced President Cleveland to show his hand in later years. Had he not been the Great Commoner it is doubtful if Theodore Roosevelt would have been nominated for Vice-President on the ticket with McKinley. In fact, it is hard to fathom just what the results would have been had Bryan become an Oxford student.

It is possible that he might have returned to the effete East, settled in New York, and become another one of those whom he as the Great Commoner fought so valiantly and who as valiantly fought him at every turn of the political wheel.

### **DECIDES ON POLITICAL CAREER**

Having decided to enter the political arena, he and Mrs. Bryan began to buy books on tariff, politics, and the financial system of the nation. These he read voraciously, and when in later years he stood on the platform in Chicago and through his speech won the nomination for the Presidency, it was not an accident but the culmination of long years of study and attention to detail in his reading.

Illinois had become fairly well settled in her politics. The politicians of that day had built their fences good and tight, and there was not much chance for the young attorney to break into the political arena. He attended faithfully all of the local meetings of his party, helped in the campaign which kept Congressman Springer in Washington, made some speeches, and was generally useful in political odd jobs, but his standing with the party was unimportant. It began to look as if he were just another attorney.

In the summer of 1887 he was sent to Iowa and Kansas on some legal business. Having a former schoolmate in Lincoln, Nebraska, he decided to visit him over the Sabbath day. The city appealed to him. His friend told him how different things were in the West, and how any bright young man might be able to forge ahead and how he would be made royally welcome. This was the kind of atmosphere for which William Jennings Bryan was looking.

He returned to Jacksonville filled with the idea that this was the Promised Land. However, there were many reasons against his moving there from the standpoint of logic. He had been reared a Democrat, while Nebraska had been a Republican or a Populist state. To go there,

he thought, might mean the end of his political ambitions. It would mean beginning again at the bottom of the ladder in his profession. It would all depend upon the amount of business which he might be able to develop.

### **MOVES TO LINCOLN**

Lincoln, Nebraska, at this time was filled with hard-working, modest living people with but one standard of measurement. There was no aristocracy. Newcomers were arriving so thick and fast, and the situation was altering so rapidly, that accomplishments rather than possessions were the measure of a man. Instinctively Bryan realized that this was his place, and on the third anniversary of his marriage he took the train for his new home and career. Mrs. Bryan and Ruth, who had come to bless their home in the meantime, remained behind until the young man should establish a law practice. Within a year after he landed in Lincoln he was on his way to the presidential nomination. He could not keep out of politics. He had been in Lincoln but a few weeks until he was on the inside of all Democratic operations. In 1888 he was elected a delegate to the Democratic State Convention and made his first political speech in the spring of that year. He had a thirst for personal acquaintanceship, together with a singular gift for remembering faces and incidents. The time was ripe for vigorous leadership. Civil War personalities were passing, and a younger generation was coming on the stage. Gold had been established as the sole coin of the nation in 1873. The demonitization of silver had appreciated the value of gold and correspondingly depreciated the values of other products. The idea of a joint gold and silver coinage at a given ratio was not a new proposal. It had been the coinage basis of the nation up to 1873. The abolition of silver coinage was passed so quietly by Congress in 1873 that the public knew little about it. With the resumption of specie payment in January of 1879, the gold coin was at a premium and the effect of the demonitization of silver began to be felt.

### **ARDENT STUDENT ON MONEY**

Bryan was an avid reader of all literature dealing with the money question, and it is not strange that he immediately became an authority on the matter in the local circles of his party.



With all this, however, the matter of earning money was his paramount problem. There was quite a bit of rivalry for such law business as there was in the city. His experience gained at Jacksonville in the collection of debts proved useful, and in a short time he was making a fair living. He soon had an opportunity to try a case before a jury and won. In the twenty jury cases which he tried during his years of law practice at Lincoln, he won nineteen. The attorney for the other side in the case which he lost was Charles G. Dawes.

After several months he sent for Mrs. Bryan, and the young couple soon became active in the affairs of Lincoln. Bryan's first political activity of any importance in Nebraska was his campaign for the election of J. Sterling Morton when the latter was running for Congress in 1888. Mr. Morton was defeated, yet entirely undiscouraged by this defeat, two years later Mr. Bryan addressed the Democratic State Convention with as much enthusiasm and vigor as though the election had been a success for his party. At this convention he made a speech in which he attacked the Republicans and accused them of having perpetrated a marriage between the G.O.P. and monopoly, and said, "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder."

### ELECTED TO CONGRESS

The Democrats decided that if Mr. Bryan felt in that sort of a fighting mood he might as well be the candidate for Congress, and be the one to take a good thrashing. There were no serious competitors for the task of defeating the man who had won two years before. Like a hound in the chase, Mr. Bryan set out on his campaign. He spoke in every town and county in the district and made many addresses every day. He changed his theme. In one place he would attack the tariff; in another place the trusts came in for their share of his attention. At yet others he expounded on the free coinage of silver, and to cap it all he challenged his opponent to a series of debates. Mr. Connell accepted. Bryan cleverly kept the best of his arguments under cover so that the reports went out that he was simply saying the same thing at every meeting but when the debates finally came on he turned loose his powers

of oratory and made a different speech at every event. When the votes were counted on election day, Nebraska for the first time sent a Democratic Congressman to Washington. Bryan had won by a plurality of sixty-seven votes.

### **SPRINGER BEFRIENDS BRYAN**

During all of his life Mr. Bryan seemed to know when an affray was going on and immediately ran to it as though it were a three-alarm fire. Such an affray was going on in the House when he arrived in Washington. A contest was on for speaker. Bryan's old friend, Congressman Springer, was a candidate for the office, but he had made a deal with Congressman Crisp, of Georgia. The young Congressman joined forces with his friend, and Crisp as a reward placed Bryan on the treasured Ways and Means Committee. As a member of this committee he was able to appear in many oratorical contests.

Meantime, he looked after his own political fences. It is said that he obtained more pensions in his district than all his predecessors put together had obtained. His maiden speech in the House was on the subject of tariff. The attendance was small as he started in, but the word soon spread around that the dynamic young man from Nebraska was saying something worth hearing. The tariff was an old subject, but Bryan was capable of making an interesting talk. Before he had hardly launched on his address he glanced at the clock and saw that his time was nearly gone because of a heckling which he had experienced from the opposition. The House, however, amused by his ability to take care of himself, moved to extend his time indefinitely. His black eyes flashing with enthusiasm, he launched into a denunciation of tariffs and privilege. The next morning, the unknown man from the prairies of Nebraska was known to the country at large.

### **FAME AS ORATOR SPREADS**

The Washington Post reported as follows: "There was hardly anything else talked about except the wonderfully brilliant speech of the young Nebraskan in the House." The New York Times, commenting on the speech, said, "The man who today ceased to be a new and young



unknown member has jumped at once into the position of the best tariff speaker in ten years."

The advantages of this event were immediate. Bryan was invited to speak all over the country, and he accepted those invitations which would fit in best with his political program. He had already made up his mind that free silver would soon be a paramount question before the country. The campaign of 1892 was coming on. Cleveland, being the titular head of the party, was again a candidate for the nomination. Bryan was present at the convention, although not a delegate. Cleveland was a gold Democrat. The silver leaders showed themselves unable to cope with his prestige, and Mr. Bryan thoughtfully observed the situation. He was due to speak at a Fourth of July celebration in Tammany Hall. It was his first address before a New York audience. His first advantage in being there was to become acquainted. It would not do at this time to become too definite in support of questions or personalities. The New York Times, in reporting his speech, said: "Mr. Bryan spoke for an hour in high terms of the Declaration of Independence and its author, but created little fervor."

The event had accomplished, however, what he had wished. He had become acquainted with the great sachem, Richard Croker, and Thomas F. Gilroy, ex-mayor of the city. Bryan was well-known now in the East and in the West, and known personally. He had to go back to Lincoln and fight for his return to Congress. If he were successful in that attempt, he was coming back to Washington to take on Grover Cleveland and see who would be leader of the party.

### **BRYAN IS RE-ELECTED**

He found upon his return to Lincoln that his fame was not only an asset, but very much of a liability. The Republicans, recognizing his strength and being determined to defeat him, imported their big guns from the East. Senator Foraker and Congressman William McKinley were the speakers. Fortunately, the G.O.P. had a local quarrel, and Bryan was returned to Congress by a majority of one hundred fifty-seven votes.

When the young Congressman came back to Washington the Democratic President was in the White House with all the advantages of

patronage at his command. Congress had been called together in special session. The purpose of this special session was to repeal the existing coinage act which directed the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly for coinage. Mr. Cleveland's program was to see that silver was not coined at all under any set agreement, much less that it was to be a standard of value. Into the arena walked Mr. Bryan, fully intent upon making an address against the Cleveland program. He did not confine himself to the discussion of theory, but at once served notice on the President that here was an issue which would lose him the support of many of his followers. The bill passed, however, was sent to the Senate, and came back to the House with an amendment, and again Mr. Bryan spoke against the Cleveland measure.

### **FIGHTS CLEVELAND POLICIES**

These addresses placed him in a fighting position which few Congressmen cared to adopt. He was not only ignoring administration policy, but he was trying to destroy the administration. The administration could not let such insubordination pass unnoticed. Cleveland singled Bryan out for discipline, and this was an unintended recognition of his leadership. Mr. Cleveland informed Mr. Bryan that he was in outer darkness and that his political opponents in Nebraska would be appointed to office, and that none of his recommendations to the White House would receive consideration. Bryan felt, however, that Cleveland's action had made him a political martyr, and he knew that this would do him no harm among the Silverites. The income tax measure came to the front in the next regular session of the Congress. Mr. Bryan favored it. By a piece of political strategy he was able to combine the income tax measure with the revenue bill, and obtained an agreement that they should be voted upon jointly. The bill went to Cleveland with the income tax law a part of it. The President was not in favor of the measure, but, not wishing to veto the revenue provisions, he signed the bill. The Supreme Court subsequently held that its income tax provisions were unconstitutional. Many years later, however, this measure was submitted to the individual states for ratification as an amendment to the Constitution, and on February 25, 1913, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan proclaimed its ratification.

### **DECLINES TO BE CANDIDATE**

The election of 1894 found Mr. Bryan wisely deciding not to become a candidate for Congress again. The political situation had become such that as a result of this election the number of Democrats in the House dropped from two hundred nineteen in 1892 to ninety-three in 1894. Instead, he permitted his name to be placed before the state as a candidate for the Senate. Such a race could not have any measurable effect upon his political future, as Senators were elected by the Legislatures from the several states. The Nebraska Legislature went heavily Republican, and a Republican was sent to the Senate.

### **BRYAN AS AN EDITOR**

Mr. Bryan became editor-in-chief of the Omaha World Herald following this event, but he still had a few months of his term remaining in Congress, and he improved them by taking some final shots at President Cleveland. These proved to be the most effective of all. Through the legislation recently passed, gold was increasingly difficult to obtain, and the Secretary of the Treasury had been directed to redeem all Government obligations in gold at the option of the holder, whether the obligation called for gold redemption or not. The result was that the Government had to sell bonds to get the gold to meet the notes.

Instead of selling the bonds direct to the public, the Secretary of the Treasury had called upon New York financial institutions with their English banking connections for assistance in floating a \$65,000,000 issue of three per cent gold bonds. A contract was made to sell the bonds to these houses at 104½, while the same kind of bonds were selling on the open market at 112. This would have netted a bonus to the bonding houses of seven and one-half million dollars. Mr. Bryan saw his opportunity, and he lambasted the Government, and especially President Cleveland, in no uncertain terms. The contract was rejected by the House, and Bryan closed his record in Congress with a victory.

### **WEST WANTED FREE SILVER**

In the East, free silver had but few advocates, while the Middle West and the Rocky Mountain states were filled with Free Silverites clamoring for recognition for bi-metallism. Mr. Bryan determined that

free silver should be the issue in 1896. Nebraska was ready to instruct its delegates to the convention which met in Chicago for Mr. Bryan, but he asked them to defer such action. Several of the states had formally instructed for him, but Mr. Bryan discouraged talk of his possibilities in advance. The silverites had by far the largest number of delegates present, but a debate was due on the issue before bi-metallism could be officially adopted as a party plank.

Rivals of Mr. Bryan had blocked his efforts to be made temporary chairman and later permanent chairman of the convention, but this proved to be a stroke of fortune. Someone was needed to make the main and concluding talk in favor of the silver plank, and Bryan was invited to accept this assignment on the program. It was almost midnight when he realized that his hour had come. At last the chairman called for Mr. Bryan, of Nebraska. Here was a man whom most of the delegates knew, and he was given a great round of applause.

Immediately he began to speak and the audience showed interest. For more than two hours he held his audience as he poured forth his vitriolic attacks upon the gold standard, the Republican Party, and privilege. Climax followed climax until he came to the final challenge of his address. "If they dare to come out in the open field," he said, "and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: 'You shall not press down upon the brow of Labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold'."

### CONVENTION IN UPROAR

The convention was in an uproar. Tall, bronzed farmers wept and grasped each other by the hand. A delegate from Georgia, bewhiskered and strong of lung, set out with his standard to the Nebraska delegation. A violent yell from the rear of the hall called attention to a Cherokee Indian crashing through the chairs of the New York delegation at break-neck speed in an attempt to beat the Georgian in his race. Bryan was lifted high on the shoulders of his friends, and Alabama led a march of



triumph around the delegates' pit. Bryan prevailed upon his supporters to let him down, and he slipped away to his hotel to await the outcome.

The next day the balloting began, and Mr. Bryan was nominated for the Presidency. The convention then, thinking to placate the gold standard element of the party, attempted to place John R. McLean, of Ohio, on the ticket. He was a man of great wealth. Democracy had few persons in its ranks who could be financially accommodating, and the McLean willingness was a godsend. Not only did McLean have money, but he was the proprietor of the Cincinnati Enquirer, a powerful newspaper of the Ohio Valley.

A delegation told Mr. Bryan of the availability of this running mate. Rising to his feet, and with eyes flashing, Mr. Bryan said, "If that man is nominated for Vice-President I would decline the nomination for the Presidency. I would not run on a ticket with that man."

Consternation and dismay filled the mind of the delegation, but Bryan was adamant. It was his prerogative to say who should be his running mate, and he would have nothing to do with Mammon. When the news came to the convention it was then balloting. On the fifth ballot Sewell, a shipbuilder of Maine, was named.

### NOTIFIED IN NEW YORK

Bryan chose to be notified of his nomination in Madison Square Garden, in New York. Bryan's hold upon his audiences had been his ability to speak without a manuscript, but he decided that this was one time he would read his speech. Mrs. Bryan argued against it, but in vain, and for ninety minutes he stood on the platform and read out a careful, if somewhat glowing analysis of the Chicago platform, of his own stand, and of the benefits of bi-metallism. The audience plied its fans in the summer heat and suffered the suffocation of boredom. The reporters who had come expecting to make a dramatic writeup were soggy with disappointment as he turned page after page of his manuscript. It was a bad start, and the Peerless Leader knew it. All the commercial and financial interests were determined to destroy him in the East, and this Garden failure was but a part of their plan.

In his round of speeches he arrived at Wilmington, where he received the affront of this campaign, which, however, he was ready to

meet. The Democrats of New York had nominated John B. Thatcher for Governor, and as Bryan arrived at Wilmington he received a copy of the evening paper which announced that Thatcher had come out for the gold standard and would not support the Democratic platform. Bryan, beside himself with anger, immediately got the Democratic State Chairman on the long distance telephone. "The Democrats of New York will nominate a man who will stand by the Chicago platform or I will not enter the state," he said. "If New York wants to repudiate the platform of the party we shall repudiate New York. Remove Thatcher from the ticket." The Chairman pleaded, explained and argued, but finally agreed, and a silver candidate was named on the ticket.

### EAST PROVES HOSTILE

Bryan, continuing his round of speeches, met with ridicule by the metropolitan papers, especially those of the East. He was roundly applauded by those of the South and the Middle West. His campaign was creating a sense of uncertainty in the minds of the Republican leaders. Mark Hanna, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who was directly in charge of the McKinley campaign, and who was considered to be one of the most astute politicians of his day, was markedly worried. The ministers of the East, speaking from their pulpits, arraigned Mr. Bryan and his platform in no uncertain tones, but the young man continued unabashed in his ardor. During the campaign he travelled more than eighteen thousand miles, and is said to have spoken to more than five millions of people. No town was too small and no audience too humble to warrant his attention.

He seldom slept more than three or four hours at a stretch, and as his train travelled over the country he was awakened at all hours of the day and night to speak to gatherings of farmers who may have travelled many miles over dirt roads, through mud and rain, in order to see this man who was the friend of the common people. Mark Hanna stirred restlessly in his sanctum, and as the campaign drew to a close it began to look as if the Commoner would be the victor. Then Hanna played his trump card. He sent forth word that all the financial world should be taxed and he made an assessment on all national banks. There



was no law at that time requiring the publication of expense accounts for campaign purposes, and hundreds of thousands of hand bills were printed, bearing the legend, "Free Silver will bring another panic." The officials of many of the large factories called their workers together before the election and said to them, "You may vote as you please, but if Bryan is elected the whistle will not blow the next day."

The campaign wound up with these declarations ringing in the ears of the laboring man. The light in the West faded out. The brilliance of the sky rocket was ended. Bryan was done for. Such was the view of the metropolitan press when the results of the election were announced, but they little knew their man. His sun had set in the West only to rise again upon a new and brighter day.

A difference of nearly 600,000 votes between the two men was accounted for by the tremendous majorities rolling up in New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. However, a calm consideration of the vote revealed the fact that if fourteen thousand and one votes had been changed in the proper places Bryan would have been elected by a majority of three in the electoral college.

### **BRYAN REMAINS TRUE**

McKinley's administration was to see the silver issue gradually decline. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal and in the Klondike relieved the pressure on that matter, and prices for farm commodities began to rise. A general era of prosperity swept over the country. Bryan, however, remained true to his first love and prepared himself for the second battle. He filled in his next four years by writing the story of his campaign, called the "First Battle," by lecturing and filling Chautauqua dates.

On Mrs. Bryan's shoulders fell the burden of taking care of his heavy correspondence. As many as twenty-five hundred letters were daily pouring into his home in Lincoln. Gifts poured in on them from every corner of the country. Every conceivable thing from a stuffed alligator to a live mule found its way there, and there were demands as well as gifts. One correspondent told Mr. Bryan that he had lost his cow in an election bet and his children were without milk. Would

Mr. Bryan kindly send another cow at once? One day while he was away on a lecture tour, a letter came from a widow in the South, stating that she was shipping to him a carload of watermelons. She needed to get a favorable price for these articles in order to support her family, and would Mr. Bryan kindly sell them for her and remit? The widow wanted two hundred dollars for the carload, and the local market was full of home grown melons. When Mr. Bryan returned, the freight office, Mrs. Bryan, and the widow were in a state of turmoil. Fearing that the melons might be totally ruined, Mrs. Bryan offered them at auction sale and realized something near one hundred dollars for them. This he sent to the widow, and this incident gave rise to the story that the Democratic leader had robbed a widow of her melon money.

### SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

National affairs had taken on a new interest. Cuba was in revolution against the rule of Spain, and McKinley in his address to Congress predicted that a protectorate of the United States might eventually have to be established along the lines of the Monroe Doctrine. The country was aroused over the stories circulated in many of the flamboyant newspapers of the East mainly inspired by men who were interested in Cuba because of its sugar industry. These journals were sounding the tocsins of war, and into this high state of nervousness and excitement fell the spark of the sinking of the battleship "Maine" in Havana harbor. Result, a declaration of war, and Bryan volunteered for service. McKinley, thankful that he was to have a united country behind him, asked what assignment should be given to Mr. Bryan. Mark Hanna was not going to have any war heroes in the Democratic camp. The waving of the war flags was to be reserved for Republican purposes. Bryan, however, was made a Colonel by the Governor of his state, organized the Third Nebraska Volunteer Regiment, which was mustered into service on July 13, 1898. His troops were encamped at Panama Park, in Florida, and suffered from typhoid fever and other ills due to lack of sanitation, endured the decayed beef supplied by the Government and the lack of necessities caused by the mismanagement of the War Department. The Colonel bought many supplies for his men

out of his own pocket until he himself came down with the fever. Neither before this time nor after his recovery did his regiment get a chance to go to the front. Twenty years later Theodore Roosevelt, himself a beneficiary of that same war, offered his services to his country and a Democratic President, remembering the precedent set by Mr. McKinley, refused to answer his letter.

### ATTACKS IMPERIALISM

The end of the war found the United States embarking upon what the Democratic Party soon featured as an imperialistic campaign. While we had refused to annex Cuba, the Phillippine Islands was another question. The Phillipines, too, had been fighting the yoke of Spain, and when Dewey sailed into Manila Harbor, annihilated the Spanish Fleet, and broke up the forts of Cavite, the United States made a pact with Aguinaldo, who threw his revolutionary forces into the fray and assisted the United States in defeating the Spanish forces in the Islands. The Phillipines expected their freedom. Instead, the United States informed them that it intended to hold a protectorate over that country. The President gave the public the message as follows: "Our concern was not for territory or trade or empire, but for the people whose interest and destiny without our willing it has been placed in our hands."

Bryan found himself in a peculiar situation. His friendship for McKinley, his desire to do the right and the grand thing, and his love of peace had put him into an embarrassing situation. He did not, however, stay. He campaigned up and down the country, denounced imperialism, and demanded that McKinley, now that the peace treaty was signed, give assurance that the Philippines at some definite future time would be set free. The campaign of 1900 found Mark Hanna again with a wary eye cast toward the prairies of Nebraska. Just what would this boy orator of the Platte do next? The discovery of gold had minimized the silver situation, but would Bryan with his oratory rouse the farmers of the Middle West with his cries of imperialism to the point where they would turn upon and rend the Republican Party in twain? It was necessary that the flag be waved, and waved by a hero who could match with his cry of "Don't haul down the flag!" the jingoistic ideas of the

former candidate from Nebraska. Mr. Hanna did not like Roosevelt, but Roosevelt was Governor of New York, and Tom Platt did not like him either. Senator Platt was highly pleased when the announcement was made that Governor Roosevelt was acceptable as a running mate for McKinley in his second campaign. The Vice-Presidency was considered the political burying ground, and Senator Platt would be only too glad to bury the New York Governor at once.

### **THEODORE ROOSEVELT NAMED**

The Republican convention placed the names of McKinley and Roosevelt as their banner bearers, and the Democrats in Kansas City accepted the challenge put forth in the plank of the Republican Party which said that "There must be no scuttle policy. We will fulfill in the Philippines the obligations imposed by the triumph of our arms. The Philippines are ours, and American authority must be supreme throughout the archipelago."

Bryan was called by the Democrats to head the ticket, and another campaign such as he had experienced four years before was in full swing. This time, however, Bryan had the full backing of Tammany Hall in New York. The Tammany forces figured that national policies are of but little value if local elections can be won and the local boys cared for. Mr. Bryan again demanded the free silver plank, even though bi-metalism had passed out of the picture. The Republicans talked about "the full dinner pail," a theme which proved to be as stirring as the flag of a successful war. Mr. Bryan chose Indianapolis as the location for his speech of acceptance, and he assured the country that if he were elected he would call Congress in special session, establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands and put forward a Monroe Doctrine for their protection. While Roosevelt and Bryan were the outstanding political figures at this time, they never opposed each other for the Presidency. However, Roosevelt carried the burden of the campaign for the Republicans, while Bryan again set out in a whirlwind campaign for the Democrats.

### **SUPREME MORAL FACTOR**

"Behold a Republic," he cried, "gladly but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter



of the world's disputes—a Republic whose history, like the path of the just, is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.”

Teddy roared, “Don’t haul down the flag!”

Mr. Bryan awaited the election returns with a confident heart, but when the final vote was tallied it was found that he was slightly behind what he had been four years before.

### **OUTLOOK WAS DARK**

The political outlook for the man who now at forty years of age had twice been defeated for the Presidency was indeed dark. The price of corn and wheat under the Republican regime had risen; the gold production was increasing; more currency was provided, creating a rise in prices and doing away with the circumstances which had made free silver an issue.

Lincoln had lost its two other citizens who were to win international fame. Pershing had been moved to another army post, and Charles Dawes had gone to Washington as Comptroller of the Currency under McKinley. Alone in his glory and his responsibility, Bryan continued to be the spokesman for the farmers and small tradesmen in his part of the country and, to some extent, in the entire nation. He had some thought of returning to his law practice, but discovered that he could make far more money on the Chautauqua platform. This gave him the opportunity which he enjoyed most of all, that of meeting the people.

### **ESTABLISHES “COMMONER”**

About this time he entered into a new venture. He established a weekly journal of opinion called “The Commoner.” From the beginning he ran this newspaper after the manner of the small country weeklies. The paper sold for a dollar a year. One hundred seventy-five thousand copies of the first issue were printed, and the paid-in-advance circulation the second year had attained a total of one hundred forty thousand. He rejected advertising which he considered unfit for a family newspaper and refused to advertise trust-made goods, and for that reason

his income was not so great as many supposed. He attacked President Eliot of Harvard for eulogizing non-union strike breakers. He championed religious freedom; he egged Roosevelt on to do more trust-busting, and his point of view with respect to the negro was distinctly Southern. He at last reached the point where he could become a country gentleman. He bought some land several miles from town and built a home which he called "Fairview," and there the family moved from D Street in Lincoln, where they had lived since 1888.

His finances had reached the point where he could afford to travel, and so he went to Europe. While only a private citizen, he was accorded all the honors usually attending official visitors. His sojourn in England was a triumphal procession. He met diplomats, labor leaders, financiers, and commercial men. He hobnobbed with royalty and visited the shums. He was dined and feted in many of the ancestral homes of the islands. He stopped in Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark. Russia was a holiday for him. He met the Czar and did not hesitate to put his host on the defensive. The young ruler found himself in the position of a man who was asked to explain his theories, for Mr. Bryan was not reluctant to ask questions. Mr. Bryan, however, was destined to meet a man who wielded a greater influence on his later life than perhaps any other individual. This was Count Leo Tolstoi, the intellectual giant of Russia. He had read Tolstoi's books and was partly in sympathy with his great ideas, but he wanted to meet him face to face. A very pleasant visit ensued, during which Count Tolstoi and Mr. Bryan exchanged views and opinions on the great problems of life. Out of this meeting grew the stand which Mr. Bryan took while serving as Secretary of State in the Wilson administration.

### **ADVOCATES GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP**

He came back from his European trip ready to thunder for Government ownership of railroads and public utilities, and during the next eight years he espoused the cause of prohibition.

A great many of the Democratic leaders had come to the conclusion that his star was in the descent, and that his influence was gone, but the campaign of 1904 found him at the St. Louis convention.



### ST. LOUIS CONVENTION OF 1904

In that convention, of which Champ Clark was permanent chairman, the leading candidates were Alton B. Parker, of New York and William Randolph Hearst, of California.

The Illinois delegation, while controlled by the Roger Sullivan organization, cast its entire vote for Hearst, whose nomination had been seconded, in brilliant speech, by Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago.

Bryan was chairman of the Nebraska delegation and, by having Nebraska yield to Wisconsin on the roll call, he succeeded in getting the final word.

His speech, in that convention, usually is alluded to as the "I Have Fought A Good Fight" address and, in the opinion of many, including the writer, was at least equal to his "Cross of Gold" effort of eight years earlier.

It was given at four o'clock in the morning of a terribly hot July day, and was delivered in seconding the nomination for president of Missouri's favorite son, United States Senator Francis Marion Cockrell.

### PARKER HAD THE DELEGATES

But, while the galleries were with Bryan, the delegates were with Parker.

The latter did not have enough votes on the first ballot, but no second ballot was taken, as Alexander Monroe Dockery, then governor of Missouri, switched the vote of that state from Cockrell to Parker, and the nomination then was made unanimous.

### BIG ROW DEVELOPS

After nominating Parker at six o'clock that Saturday morning, the convention recessed until eight o'clock at night.

But during the ensuing hours, Judge Alton B. Parker had wired repudiating the money plank in the platform.

Bryan was at the nearby Jefferson hotel, quite sick, but he dressed and came back to the convention and denounced Parker's repudiation of the money plank.

A big row, participated in by Tillman, of South Carolina, John Sharp W. Williams, of Mississippi, and Bryan, and others ensued.

### ELECTION OF 1904

Mr. Bryan's experience had left him in a grim humor. He was resolved to support the ticket and to bide his time. While Judge Parker was trying to lead his party back to the good old days of Grover Cleveland, the front page of the "Commoner" of July 22nd carried the challenging heading, "Democracy must move forward," and he placed himself at the head of the radical and Progressive element of the Democratic party and came out strongly for Government ownership and operation of the railroads.

He kept quiet during the campaign on these issues, and put in most of his time working for the Democratic ticket. When the election returns came in he was justified in what he had told the convention in St. Louis. Parker had a million and a half votes less than Mr. Bryan had polled in 1896.

Mr. Bryan felt that his stand had been vindicated, and he set out on his new theories.

### TAKES TRIP AROUND WORLD

Realizing that a public can be surfeited with one subject, he decided to take another vacation, and this time started west and completed a tour of the world. He visited Japan where he was received with all the pomp of royalty. One evening he attended a banquet given to Admiral Togo, the hero of the Japanese-Russian War. The time came to drink a toast. Those present lifted their champagne glasses, when a gasp of alarm went up as Mr. Bryan was seen to raise a glass of water. Someone grasped his arm and whispered that such a toast would be considered an insult, but he was equal to the delicate situation. "You won your victory on water," he said, turning to the Admiral, "and I drink to your health in water. Whenever you win any victories on champagne, I shall drink to your health in champagne." The day was saved.

Mr. Bryan visited the Philippines where he was received with great ceremony and acclaimed as a friend of the Filipinos. However, when he got to the southern islands doubts began to assail him as to whether there might not be some reason why the Islands should remain under the protectorate of the United States, at least for a time.

### **BRYAN IN HOLY LAND**

Continuing his trip he reached the Holy Land. Here he received much inspiration as he trod the paths which his Master had travelled two thousands years before. He finally landed in New York to find that another campaign was nearing, and that his toast to Admiral Togo had preceded him. A great demonstration and ovation was given him as he came up the bay to the Statute of Liberty. A reception boat came down to the entrance of the harbor, loaded with the leaders of Democracy, officials of the state, and his closest friends from Lincoln. Another speech was made in Madison Square Garden, and again he read it and again it met with the same reception, for he came out emphatically for Government ownership of railroads, which the headlines of the daily papers screamed to the world.

While he was in Europe the Democratic party at large had looked upon him as their saviour, and the belief was common that he could lead them to a mighty victory. But the edge was gone from the Eastern enthusiasm after his Madison Square Garden speech. He was nominated by acclamation at the next convention, but the sureness of victory was disappearing. He was a Moses, but his followers did not know where he was likely to lead them. But he was not dismayed. He stormed the country in a cause in which he believed heart and soul. Whatever the result, he would keep the faith.

### **THEODORE ROOSEVELT ELECTED**

Bryan sat in his home and received the returns. He picked up some states which had been lost by Parker, and polled nearly one hundred thousand more votes than he had in 1900, but his numerical losses were heaviest in the Southern states, largely because of the apathy of the voters. Missouri went to the Republican column by a few more than six hundred votes. The brewing interests, remembering his toast to Admiral Togo, and fearing that he was about to join forces with the prohibition element, had decided that he was not the proper man for President. They undoubtedly turned the tide of battle in Missouri, as well as in some of the larger cities. The prohibition question had been an embarrassing one for Bryan for years. A teetotaler himself, he yet was liberal enough not to attempt to force his own personal opinions upon

the nation at large. Large areas of the country were under local option. In Nebraska, a city or village might vote itself dry, but a saloon could operate just outside the limits of that city or village with impunity. The dry sentiment was growing apace throughout the South and the Middle West. The state Democratic convention was to meet at Grand Island, Nebraska, on July 26, 1910. Three factions had arisen. The Governor had signed the daylight saloon law which required all saloons to close at eight P.M. Many of the faithful had transferred their allegiance to the Republican party, but they had gone one degree worse, and now came out with an endorsement for county option. The mayor of Omaha was demanding a plank seeking opposition to county option, while still another faction wanted a compromise platform.

The Bryan plank was presented to the convention and read as follows: "We favor county option as the best method of dealing with the liquor question." He arose to make a speech, and after outlining the history of prohibition and its effect upon the country at large, he closed by making an appeal to those who had worked with him for so long. He stated that he would never sound retreat and if the standard were to be given over to the enemy it could be put in other hands. The plank lost by a three to one vote.

### HELPS DEFEAT DEMOCRAT

Mr. Bryan kept quiet during the campaign, until just a few days before the election in November, he announced that he would speak in Lincoln on a certain evening, and that his address would deal with political subjects. The local auditorium was filled long before the hour for the address. Hundreds of Republicans as well as Democrats had come to hear him. While this meeting was unimportant on the surface, it was the culmination of years of struggle. The Great Commoner was about to cast his lot with the Prohibitionists who had campaigned in America for more than a century. Here, for the first time, he came out vehemently and whole-heartedly for the prohibition cause, and the fight was on. The election was the next day, and he was asked what he was going to do about the Democratic candidate for Governor, who was an avowed Wet. On that subject he said, "I shall neither speak for Mr. Dahlman nor vote for him. I hope to see him defeated by a majority



so overwhelming as to warn the brewers, distillers, and liquor dealers to retire from Nebraska politics and allow the people to act upon the liquor question as they do upon other questions."

Dahlman was defeated in the election by nearly twenty thousand votes, while most of the other Democratic candidates were elected.

On January 16, 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution went into effect. The Great Commoner was chief speaker at the celebration ceremonies in Washington. He took for his text, "They are dead which sought the young child's life." Mr. Bryan had lived to see many of the great principles in which he believed and for which he fought enacted into law, among them prohibition.

Later he had passed to his reward and did not live to see his party repudiate its act by repealing the Eighteenth Amendment.

### **BRYAN IN 1912 CAMPAIGN**

The 1912 campaign found a new situation. Society was reading a new literature. Articles were appearing in various magazines exposing trusts, combines, and privilege. Lincoln Steffens was hammering away in *Everybody's Magazine* against "The Sovereign Political Power of Organized Business." The vocabulary of the world was changing also. The words "plutocrat" and "anarchist" had been revised to read "conservative" and "progressive." Mr. Bryan realized that he was not the logical candidate to carry the banner in 1912. He had been to the front three times, and had lost. Other men felt the same way.

Governor Wilson was campaigning in the East. Champ Clark was calling upon the South and the Middle West, while lesser lights were running here and there trying to corral a few votes. Months before the Baltimore convention, letters poured in to Mr. Bryan urging him to be a candidate. Mrs. Bryan, in her memoirs, acknowledged that she felt that this was his time, that he could be elected, and she wanted him to be President. But he stood adamant and refused to permit his name to be placed before the people.

### **BRYAN AT BALTIMORE**

A maker of kings in the person of Colonel House, of Texas, was managing Governor Wilson's campaign, and he felt that it would be

impossible to nominate anyone whom Mr. Bryan might oppose, so he set himself to sell his candidate to the Great Commoner. Champ Clark had supported Mr. Bryan in all of his campaigns, and felt that he should receive his support in return. In this controversy the part of Bryan was supreme, and whichever way he turned the nomination would undoubtedly go. Clark was a Conservative, and in that trend of thought had served in the House for many years. At this time he was the Speaker. While the ties of friendship were strong, Mr. Bryan felt that his conservatism was influenced too much by the same interests which he had fought for so many years, and in the convention finally threw his forces to Mr. Wilson.

A split in the Republican forces assured the Democrats electing a President, and Woodrow Wilson was elevated from the office of Governor of New Jersey to that of the Chief Executive of the nation. He could only thank one man, and that one man who himself had thrice striven for the place but failed.

### **AS SECRETARY OF STATE**

The question then in the minds of everyone was, "What will the President do for Bryan?" His training had not been in diplomacy, and yet it was the only place where they could see him accepting an office. Mr. Wilson offered him the portfolio of Secretary of State, and after some discussion Mr. Bryan agreed to accept. It was a wonderful opportunity for him to place the stamp of his personality upon the world. He hoped to write treaties which would prevent any war. He was placing to the fore the thoughts and theories of his friend in Russia, Count Leo Tolstoi. He succeeded in a large measure in formulating treaties with many of the governments of the world, but even while he was so engaged, events were shaping themselves which eventually threw the world into the greatest war of its history.

In July, 1914, a shot was fired in Serbia which exploded the European powder barrel, and Bryan, the apostle of peace, found himself as Secretary of State in the bloodiest period of the world's history. Bryan hoped to keep this country out of the embroglio, but the sinking of the *Lusitania* and other outrages upon the sea against American shipping



and American citizens forced the hand of the President. It began to look like war. Mr. Bryan, rather than to be a party to it, resigned.

He remained loyal to his chief, however, and in the convention in 1916 sounded the keynote of the campaign which ended in Wilson's re-election. It was he who started the slogan "He kept us out of war." However, America was finally drawn into the conflict, and on April 6, 1917, a declaration of war was voted by Congress.

At the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Mr. Bryan indicated a willingness for this country to enter the League of Nations, although it was clear that he was not entirely in sympathy with all of the articles in the Treaty.

### **SILENT IN 1920 CAMPAIGN**

The 1920 campaign saw Mr. Bryan playing a passive part. His dry enforcement plank had been voted down in the convention, and he did not propose to actively support the ticket.

In 1924 he was again a delegate to the convention which met in New York. Alfred E. Smith, who might logically have been thought to be the recipient of the Bryan toga because of his attitude toward trusts and special privileges, and who had come up from the common people himself, was a candidate for the Presidency. So also was William Gibbs McAdoo. Mr. Bryan was very careful to explain that it was not a matter of religion, but he supported McAdoo, which so embittered the Smith forces that a prolonged deadlock resulted in the convention.

Neither side would yield, and the Great Commoner could not bring his persuasive powers to bear to the point where he could secure any co-operation from either side. John W. Davis, an attorney for J. P. Morgan and Company, who had long been identified with corporate interests, was nominated. This was a far cry from the apostle of the common people, William Jennings Bryan. However, to placate Mr. Bryan and his friends, his brother Charles was placed on the ticket. The attempt to appeal to the East and West by a team which stood for Conservatism in the Presidency and Bryanism in the Vice-Presidency did not work. Calvin Coolidge, the Republican nominee, was elected President. This was Mr. Bryan's last political battle. The old war horse had served his day.

### **BRYAN TURNS TO RELIGION**

Mr. Bryan, having become convinced that he was through with politics, now turned his attention to affairs of the church, and made an active campaign in an endeavor to be elected to the position of Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. He was not successful, but he had turned his thoughts toward things religious, and his early training was coming back to him many fold.

Some of the states in the South had in earlier days passed legislation forbidding any teaching of the biological theory as advanced by Darwin. A young school teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, had been indicted for teaching the theory that man had evolved from a lower animal. This became one of the great trials of the age, and Mr. Bryan was asked to assist in the prosecution. He pitted himself against his old friend, Clarence Darrow, and for days fought with might and main to place the seal of Christianity upon the educational facilities of the youth of Tennessee. Mr. Bryan made one of the most eloquent addresses of his life in closing the argument for the prosecution, and from the nature of the evidence it was a forgone conclusion that the jury would return a verdict of guilty. Mr. Bryan had won his last case.

Some further arguments which he had prepared were contained in a pamphlet which he proceeded to edit immediately following the close of the trial. He was in the habit of driving to the neighboring towns, and on July 26, 1925, he had been to Chattanooga to correct proof on an article. He ate a hearty noonday meal and was in a happy frame of mind. He had just been to a physician who had given him all of the necessary tests and assured him that he had several years in which to live. After making some long distance calls he lay down to take a nap, as was his usual custom. His failure to join his wife led to an investigation.

The Great Commoner had passed on.

He had kept the faith.

### **HIS CONTRIBUTION**

Bryan's contribution to his age was primarily his belief in the inherent dignity of the common man. Brought up in the tradition of

Jefferson and Jackson, he opposed the trespassing upon individual freedom, either by Socialism or by corporate aggrandizement. His principles are everlasting, and to that extent another may come to be called a Great Commoner, but as a human being he was alone of his kind. The label that his early followers gave him suggests this. What a wealth of adoration, of personality, and of the singular timbre of his time is wrapped up in this title, "The Peerless Leader."

A little storekeeper in Lincoln expressed the greatest epitaph which could be placed above any man's resting place. When accosted by a stranger asking about "Fairview" and commenting on the life of Bryan, he said in a quiet voice as if imparting a vital secret, "We loved him."





BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN  
SALEM, ILLINOIS

## STATE CONVENTIONS OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY FROM 1894 TO 1898

The Thirtieth Democratic state convention met in Springfield, June 27, 1894, and was called to order by Delos P. Phelps of Monmouth, chairman of the state central committee.

Hon. Owen Scott, of Bloomington, was made both temporary and permanent chairman.

The nominees chosen were:

For state treasurer—Bernard J. Claggett, of Lexington.

For superintendent of public instruction—Henry Raab, the very capable incumbent.

Three nominees for trustees for the university also were named.

The Hon. Franklin Mac Veagh, of Chicago, was then declared the choice of the party for United States senator, and was greeted with much enthusiasm when he was introduced to the delegates and delivered a brief address.

But this was the year of “terrible slaughter” of Democrats all over the country and, although the state administration was Democratic throughout, the party ticket went down to defeat by heavy majorities.

State central committeemen selected by the committee were:

At large—Thomas Gahan, John P. Hopkins, Samuel B. Chase, Benjamin T. Cable, Joseph P. Mahoney, R. E. Spangler, W. H. Hinrichsen, William S. Forman, and Theodore Nelson.

First district—A. A. Goodrich.

Second district—Thomas Byrne.

Third district—John P. Leinendécker.

Fourth district—William Loeffler.

Fifth district—M. C. Conlon.

Sixth district—Rudolph Brand.



Seventh district—Charles P. Williams.

Eighth district—D. J. Hogan.

Ninth district—W. O. Wright.

Tenth district—John W. Potter.

Eleventh district—Daniel Heenan.

Twelfth district—George E. Brennan, afterward Democratic national committeeman and candidate for United States senator.

Thirteenth district—William B. Brinton.

Fourteenth district—Frank J. Quinn.

Fifteenth district—S. S. Hallam.

Sixteenth district—E. F. Binns.

Seventeenth district—J. B. Ricks.

Eighteenth district—J. H. Baker.

Nineteenth district—Ross R. Fuller.

Twentieth district—Dr. Walter Watson.

Twenty-first district—James D. Baker.

Twenty-second district—Reed Green.

The committee organized with the election of Secretary of State W. H. Hinrichson, as chairman; Thomas Gahan, vice-chairman; Theodore Nelson, secretary; and William B. Brinton, treasurer.

### THE 1896 CONVENTION

In 1896 the early signs gave the leaders of the Illinois Democracy new courage and new hope, and it was a decidedly cheerful assemblage that greeted the calling to order of the thirty-first Democratic state convention in Peoria, on June 23, by "Buck" Hinrichson of the state central committee.

Hon. A. J. Bell, of Carlinville, was the temporary presiding officer, while Charles K. Ladd, of the Henry county Democracy, was the permanent chairman of the convention, which was one of the largest state gatherings held up to that time.

John P. Altgeld was nominated for re-election to the governorship, and the other nominees were:

For lieutenant governor—Monroe C. Crawford, of Jonesboro.

For secretary of state—Finis E. Downing, of Virginia.

For auditor of public accounts—W. F. Beck, of Olney.

For treasurer—Edward C. Pace, of Ashby.

For attorney-general—George A. Trude, of Chicago.

Three candidates for university trustees also were named, as were candidates for presidential electors and delegates and alternates to the national convention which was to meet in Chicago on July 7, and which was to mark new history for its party by the nomination of William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, for president, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for vice-president.

### NOTABLES ON STATE COMMITTEE

The 1896 Democratic state convention named a central committee of the party as follows:

At large—Ross R. Fuller, Thomas Gahan, Theodore Nelson, Joseph P. Mahoney, Fred E. Eldred, George E. Brennan, B. J. Claggett, W. H. Hinrichson, and Frank W. Havill.

First district—Alexander J. Jones.

Second district—Thomas Byrne.

Third district—T. J. McNally.

Fourth district—Thomas Cusack.

Fifth district—Thomas F. Little.

Sixth district—Joseph S. Martin.

Seventh district—Charles A. Williams.

Eighth district—D. J. Hogan.

Ninth district—Charles W. Ferguson.

Tenth district—A. W. Bastian.

Eleventh district—Daniel Heenan.

Twelfth district—Thomas F. Donovan, that great Democrat who now is lieutenant-governor of Illinois.

Thirteenth district—J. F. Heffernan.

Fourteenth district—Frank J. Quinn.

Fifteenth district—T. J. Dudman.

Sixteenth district—A. C. Bentley.

Seventeenth district—J. B. Ricks.

Eighteenth district—George F. Miner.

Nineteenth district—H. B. Lee.

Twentieth district—Walter Watson.

Twenty-first district—W. S. Matthews.

Twenty-second district—Reed Green.

Dwight W. Andrews, of Chicago, was chosen chairman of the state central body, but resigned shortly after the general election and the committee then was reorganized with: James W. Orr, of Champaign, chairman; Thomas Gahan, of Chicago, vice-chairman; Arthur C. Bentley, of Pittsfield, secretary, and Millard Fillmore Dunlap, of Jacksonville, treasurer.

Just prior to the assembling of the 1898 state convention, the committee, which had been named in 1896 but which had been considerably reorganized, met in Springfield and prepared a written constitution designed to cover the government of all future Democratic state committees.

This proposed constitution had been drafted subject to its approval and adoption by the convention.

Among other things, its provisions were:

That the state committee might go outside of its own membership to select a chairman.

That the state committee, at all times, should have authority to expel any member or set of members found guilty of disloyalty to their party for failing to give entire support to any nominee of that party.

The subsequent record shows that this constitution was duly presented to the 1898 state convention by Delegate J. P. Mahoney, but that, while no formal motion to lay it on the table is shown by the minutes, no action, one way or the other, appears to have been taken.

### THE CONVENTION OF 1898

The thirty-second Democratic state convention met on a decidedly hot day, July 12, 1898, and the delegates were pleased that its sessions were held in the comparatively cool state fair grounds, and not in a closed building.

It was called to order by James W. Orr, of Champaign, chairman of the state central committee.

That distinguished and ever popular Democrat of Chicago, Judge William Prentiss, was both temporary and permanent chairman.

The nominations made were:

For state treasurer—Millard F. Dunlap, of Jacksonville.

For superintendent of public instruction—Perry O. Stiver, of Freeport.

Nominations for three trustees of the university of Illinois also were made.

### ROGER C. SULLIVAN ON LIST

The state central committee named at the 1898 convention is notable for the fact that one of the members of that body chosen was Roger C. Sullivan, afterwards destined to be one of the greatest leaders of his party, and the determining factor in the selection of Woodrow Wilson for president of the United States by the Baltimore convention of 1912.

The personnel of the committee was as follows:

At large—Thomas Gahan, Fred E. Eldred, Joseph P. Mahoney, James W. Orr, J. E. Murphy, A. W. Hope, Frank W. Havill, E. D. Mayhew, and William L. Mounts.

First district—Alexander J. Jones.

Second district—Thomas Byrne.

Third district—William J. Roach.

Fourth district—William Loeffler.

Fifth district—Roger C. Sullivan.

Sixth district—Robert E. Burke.

Seventh district—Joseph S. Schwab.

Eighth district—Dennis J. Hogan.

Ninth district—Charles W. Ferguson.

Tenth district—Ben F. Cable, the distinguished Democrat of Rock Island, who afterwards became national committeeman.

Eleventh district—Daniel Heenan.

Twelfth district—Thomas F. Donovan.

Thirteenth district—J. F. Heffernan.

Fourteenth district—Frank J. Quinn.

Fifteenth district—Thomas F. Dunn.

Sixteenth district—A. C. Bentley.

Seventeenth district—James B. Ricks.

Eighteenth district—W. H. Dowdy.

Nineteenth district—H. B. Lee.

Twentieth district—Walter Watson.

Twenty-first district—W. S. Matthews.

Twenty-second district—James Lingle.

Walter Watson, very popular Democrat of Mount Vernon, was elected chairman of the state central committee, with Thomas Gahan, of Chicago, as vice-chairman; Fred E. Eldred of Chicago, as secretary; and Millard F. Dunlap, of Jacksonville, as treasurer.







SAMUEL ALSCHULER

## **ALSCHULER LEADS TICKET BUT GOES DOWN TO DEFEAT WITH BRYAN AND STEVENSON**

The Democracy of Illinois met in convention at Springfield, June 27 and 28, 1900, for the purpose of writing its platform and making nominations for state offices.

They were called to order by the state chairman, Dr. Walter Watson, of Mt. Vernon, who announced the following as the committee selections for temporary officers of the convention:

E. W. Hurst, chairman.

John M. Rapp, secretary.

Chairman Hurst was called to the platform and made a speech, saying in part:

“New issues have arisen involving principles affecting, in my judgment, the permanency of the republic. These new issues are, however, but the natural outgrowth of the old contest of man and the dollar, between plutocracy and democracy.

“If Jefferson saw danger to the republican institutions in a landed aristocracy, what, think you, would he say if alive today, at the growth and power of combinations of capital in the form of trusts.”

After reviewing the course of this government in respect to other peoples, of the world and their struggles for liberty, he continued:

“In April, 1898, we went to war with Spain because the great heart of the American people went out in sympathy to the people of Cuba in their struggle for liberty. The object of the war was proclaimed by a solemn resolution of Congress, repudiating all intentions of annexation on our part. \* \* \* \* President McKinley also declared that annexation by force would not be thought of according to our code of morals. It would be ‘criminal aggression.’

“Then came the treaty of Paris and the purchase of the Phillippine

Islands from Spain for \$20,000,000. Then followed the war against the Filipinos."

### **McKINLEY ADMINISTRATION ATTACKED**

Chairman Hurst followed this statement with an attack on the Republican administration for its attitude towards the Islands and also brought in the Porto Rican problem, and claimed the imperialistic tendencies of the government were being fostered by the desire of big business to further its world trade. He paid a high tribute to William Jennings Bryan.

Following the opening address, the committee on permanent organization moved the temporary organization be made the permanent organization, which motion carried, with the amendment adding the name of Chas. C. Chain to the list of assistant secretaries.

Former Governor John Peter Altgeld was called upon for a speech and was accorded a great demonstration when he went to the platform. He spoke at some length and called upon the Democracy of Illinois to rally behind the ticket. He felt that the time was ready for another victory, both state and national.

A platform was adopted which held many points taken from the national platform of the previous campaign. Among the planks were the following: A demand that the currency laws be changed so that silver should be on a par with gold; a strong plea against the imperialistic tendency of the Republican administration; especially in its attitude toward the Philippine Islands and the Filipinos; a demand that this nation remain aloof from any and all foreign entanglements and reiterating the principles of Thomas Jefferson on the subject; strongly condemned trusts and the tendency toward great combinations of wealth and the control of industry; endorsing the election of United States senators by popular vote.

The nomination of candidates for state offices followed:

Governor—Samuel Alschuler, Aurora.

Lieutenant Governor—Howard S. Taylor, Chicago.

Secretary of State—James F. O'Donnell, Bloomington.

Treasurer—Millard F. Dunlap, Jacksonville.

Anditor—George B. Parsons, Shawneetown.

Attorney General—James Todd, Chicago.

**HOPKINS HEADS COMMITTEE**

The selection of the state central committee was made by the delegates to each district holding caucuses and the selections were announced on the second day of the convention.

This committee was as follows:

At large—Thomas Gahan, William J. Roach, A. J. Jones, Fred Eldred, F. W. Havill, William L. Mounts, P. C. Haley, W. B. Brinton and J. E. Murphy.

First District—John P. Hopkins.

Second District—Thomas Byrne.

Third District—Thomas J. McNally.

Fourth District—William Loeffler.

Fifth District—Roger C. Sullivan.

Sixth District—Robert E. Burke.

Seventh District—John Fitzsimmons.

Eighth District—Dennis J. Hogan.

Ninth District—Charles W. Ferguson.

Tenth District—Guy C. Scott.

Eleventh District—Daniel Heenan.

Twelfth District—Thomas F. Donavan.

Thirteenth District—B. J. Claggert.

Fourteenth District—Frank J. Quinn.

Fifteenth District—Thomas F. Dunn.

Sixteenth District—J. F. Robinson.

Seventeenth District—J. M. Ricks.

Eighteenth District—A contest resulted in this district which was not settled for some time following the convention.

Nineteenth District—I. A. Lumpkin.

Twentieth District—Walter Watson.

Twenty-first District—W. S. Mathews.

Twenty-second District—James Lingle.

At a subsequent meeting John P. Hopkins was selected as chairman of the committee and William L. Mounts, secretary.

A good campaign was waged for the election of the tickets, but neither the state nor national was successful. Samuel Alschuler polled a

total of 518,966 votes but was defeated by Richard Yates by 61,233. He ran ahead of the national ticket, however, by nearly 16,000 votes.

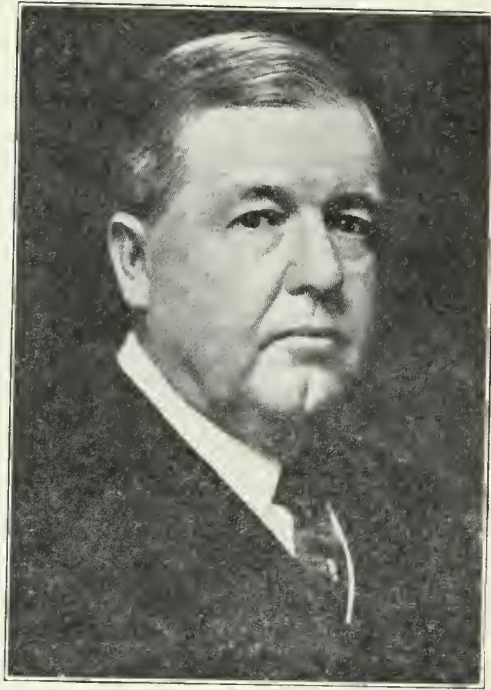
### **PARTY MAKES GAINS**

The party made gains in the number of congressmen elected at this time. In the preceeding Congress, Illinois was represented by eight Democrats, but this year they were successful in electing eleven, picking up the Second, Fifteenth and Twenty-first districts.

The Illinois delegation to the National convention was instructed to vote as a unit on all matters pertaining to the platform and nominees and after supporting Bryan for the presidential nomination succeeded in placing the name of Adlai E. Stevenson on the ticket as his running mate. An enthusiastic attempt had been made to place Carter H. Harrison as vice-presidential candidate, but Mr. Harrison refused and was instrumental in securing the Stevenson nomination.







WILLIAM M. FARMER

## ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY IN EARLIER YEARS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The dawn of the present century found the Illinois Democracy in none too good shape.

Bryan had gone down to defeat, for the second time in 1900, as the nominee of that year's Kansas City convention.

And with him to defeat had gone that really great Illinois Democrat, Samuel Alschuler, of Aurora, and all of his excellent fellow nominees on that year's state ticket.

William McKinley had just entered on his second term as president of the United States—a term that was to be so shockingly ended by the tragedy of Buffalo, New York.

Richard Yates the Younger was governor of Illinois, and Republicans were firmly entrenched in nearly every public office, no matter how small, throughout the state.

The outlook for the Democracy was decidedly dark; the more so because the wounds of 1896 and of 1900 had been but partly healed and, in nearly every convention of the party, there was much discord between the rival followings of that stalwart figure of Illinois Democracy, Roger C. Sullivan, of Chicago, and those who were bitterly opposed to his growing ascendancy—the latter wing being largely led by that capable and conscientious Democrat, Henry W. Clendenin, editor of the Illinois State Register of Springfield, Judge Owen P. Thompson, of Jacksonville, and Millard Fillmore Dunlap, of the same city.

This strenuous rivalry added much color to Illinois Democratic conventions, but hardly was of a character to promote party success, even if such success had been in reach—which it was not!

For, thoughtful Democrats, the writer believes, will agree with him,

that Illinois is a peculiar state in that, unlike New York, Ohio, and many others that could be cited, ours is a commonwealth where, with very few exceptions and these mostly for minor state offices, elections go one way or another—head, hide and tail—and it always has been a case of heaven help the Democratic nominee on a state ticket when the national ticket is doomed to lose Illinois by heavy majority.

It was that way with Alschuler and his associates in 1900.

It was even more so with that gracious and genuine statesman of Illinois Democracy, Lawrence B. Stringer, of Lincoln, the standard bearer in 1904.

What possible chance could the Stringer ticket, or any other Democratic ticket, have in a year when the doughty “rough rider” Theodore Roosevelt, was riding on such mighty wave of popularity, that even Missouri, heretofore a dependable stronghold of the Democracy, was swept into the Republican column as “The Mysterious Stranger.”

### “POLITICS LIKE MARRIAGE”

It has been well said that politics is a good deal like a marriage ceremony:

The best man seldom wins!

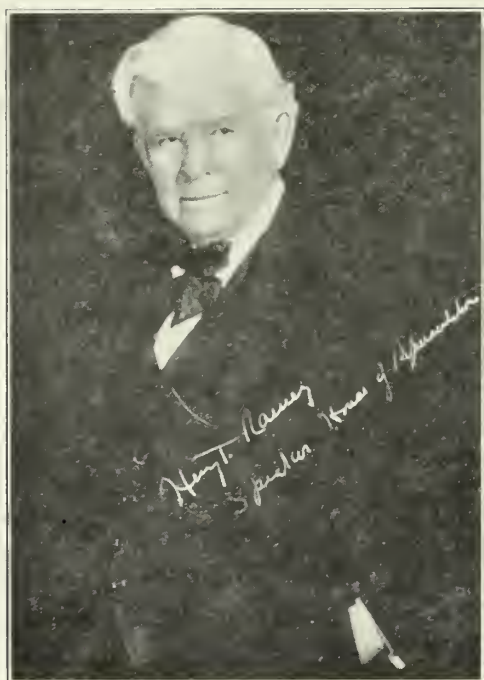
And so, in Illinois Democratic campaigns of earlier years of the stirring century in which we are living, many a “best man” went down before Republican nominees of decidedly lesser worth.

It is well that we take full cognizance of these facts in any survey of Illinois Democracy, past or present.

Let us never appraise a Democratic nominee as having been of poorer quality merely because he went down to defeat.

Rather, let us give the Democratic badge of courage to them for having dared to fight the good fight; for having kept the faith when the keeping of it could mean nothing more than personal loss and large sacrifice.





HENRY T. RAINEY

## **HENRY T. RAINEY STARTS TOWARD SPEAKERSHIP OF NATIONAL HOUSE**

The convention for the mid-presidential year, met June 17 and 18, 1902, at the fair grounds in Springfield.

This year saw a hot factional fight between John P. Hopkins and Mayor Carter H. Harrison, of Chicago, for control of the Cook county delegation, especially the committeeman from the First district. Hopkins was successful in winning a place on the committee from the state at large, but Harrison elected his friend, Thomas J. McNally, as the regular committeeman from the First district.

Mr. Hopkins, as chairman of the state committee, called the convention to order. He announced the following as the committee's choice for temporary officers: .

Lawrence B. Stringer, of Lincoln, chairman.

Arthur W. Charles, of Carmi, secretary.

The temporary organization was made permanent on motion of the committee on permanent organization.

The following were nominated as the party candidates:

### **PICKERING A NOMINEE**

John L. Pickering, Springfield, Clerk of the Supreme Court.

George W. Duddleston, Cook County, Treasurer.

Anson L. Bliss, Jefferson county, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The state having been re-apportioned into twenty-five congressional districts at the preceding session of the General Assembly, the districts proceeded to caucus for their committeemen as follows:

At Large—John P. Hopkins, Ben T. Cable, William L. Mounts, James E. Murphy, John D. Harris, Wm. B. Brinton, Frank B. Bowman, L. O. Whitnell and Thomas Mehan.



First District—Thomas J. McNally.  
Second District—Thomas J. Halian.  
Third District—W. J. Doherty.  
Fourth District—Thomas Carey.  
Fifth District—A. J. Sabath.  
Sixth District—John E. Owens.  
Seventh District—Roger C. Sullivan.  
Eighth District—Miles J. Devine  
Ninth District—Robert E. Burke.  
Tenth District—Robert J. Farrell.  
Eleventh District—D. J. Hogan.  
Twelfth District—James N. Haskins.  
Thirteenth District—W. O. Wright.  
Fourteenth District—John W. Lusk.  
Fifteenth District—Jackson K. Pierce.  
Sixteenth District—F. J. Quinn.  
Seventeenth District—B. J. Claggert.  
Eighteenth District—H. S. Farmer.  
Nineteenth District—William M. Berring.  
Twentieth District—Frank E. Robinson.  
Twenty-first District—John E. Hogan.  
Twenty-second District—Chas. Boeschenstein.  
Twenty-third District—Max Prill.  
Twenty-fourth District—Arthur W. Charles.  
Twenty-fifth District—Wm. A. Swartz.

This committee organized at a later date by electing John P. Hopkins as chairman to succeed himself, and William J. Mounts as secretary.

### **RAINEY ELECTED TO CONGRESS**

The party again suffered defeat, the treasurer running nearly 90,000 votes behind his Republican opponent. However, this campaign saw the entry into National politics of that great party leader, Henry T. Rainey, who was elected to Congress from the Twentieth district, and who later rose to prominence as Speaker of the National House of Representatives.

The Democrats elected eight Congressmen out of twenty-five from the state and had a total of seventy-seven votes on joint ballot in the General Assembly.

The party split between Hopkins and Harrison in Chicago, was said to be one of the reasons there was not a better showing at this election.







JOHN P. HOPKINS

## **ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY'S STORMIEST CONVENTION RAINEY ONLY SURVIVOR**

Feeling that there was a chance to elect a National ticket this year, the meeting of the state convention at Springfield on June 14 and 15, 1904, was very large and enthusiastic.

William Randolph Hearst had secured the endorsement of the delegates to the state convention and he was made the choice of the party for President. Instructions were given the delegation to the National convention to use every effort to secure his nomination.

Chairman Hopkins called the convention to order and placed the following in nomination for temporary officers:

Frank J. Quinn, chairman.

James A. Long, secretary.

This was also made the permanent organization of the convention. The nomination of candidates for state offices resulted as follows: Governor—Lawrence B. Stringer.

Lieutenant Governor—Thomas F. Ferns.

Secretary of State—Frank E. Dooling.

Auditor—R. E. Spangler.

Treasurer—Charles B. Thomas.

Attorney General—Albert Watson.

### **PLATFORM OF MUCH APPEAL**

A platform was adopted that made a strong appeal.

Among its planks were:

A curtailment of trusts and of the accumulation of vast wealth in the hands of few.

A primary law which would permit all to enter the contest for party nomination.

Stronger statutes curbing corporations.



A public utility bill that would make such industries amendable to state laws.

A civil service law which would place all employees of the state under the law.

Stronger laws protecting labor and making employers responsible for working conditions that would be easier for the employees.

Demanding the election of United States Senators by popular vote.

The several districts having caucused, the following were elected as state central committeemen:

First District—John P. Hopkins.

Second District—Thomas P. Flynn.

Third District—Jeremiah O'Rourke.

Fourth District—Thomas J. Carey.

Fifth District—William Loeffler.

Sixth District—M. L. Sullivan.

Seventh District—Roger C. Sullivan.

Eighth District—Stanley H. Kmz.

Ninth District—Robert E. Burke.

Tenth District—Robert J. Farrell.

Eleventh District—Dennis J. Hogan.

Twelfth District—C. H. Woolsey.

Thirteenth District—H. L. Fordham.

Fourteenth District—Ben T. Cable.

Fifteenth District—J. E. Wyand.

Sixteenth District—Frank J. Quinn.

Seventeenth District—B. J. Claggert.

Eighteenth District—H. S. Tanner.

Nineteenth District—C. J. Millikin.

Twentieth District—George W. Hogan.

Twenty-first District—Arthur L. Hereford.

Twenty-second District—Chas. Boeschenstein.

Twenty-third District—George M. LeCrone.

Twenty-fourth District—Arthur W. Charles.

Twenty-fifth District—W. A. Swartz.

This committee organized at a later date with Charles Boeschen

stein, of Edwardsville, chairman, and Dennis J. Hogan, of Chicago, secretary.

The committee at large selected by the convention was:

F. B. Bowman, J. E. Murphy, L. C. Whitnell, W. M. Berring, John J. Feeley, John F. O'Malley, and Stephen D. Griffin.

### CONVENTION IN UPROAR

The convention was in an uproar much of the time because of appeals from the rulings of the chair. Mr. Quinn was the choice of Mr. Hopkins, who, as chairman of the state committee, was in a position to dictate the policies of the convention.

The Harrison forces were still at odds with the Hopkins forces from the split in the convention of two years before, and a vigorous use of the gavel tended to increase the turmoil.

The vote at the fall election was not reassuring to the party as the state went Republican for both state and national candidates by a larger majority than at any time in the previous history of the state.

The only Democrat on the state ticket to pull through was Henry T. Rainey, candidate for Congress in the Twentieth district, the delegation to Washington having twenty-four Republicans and one Democrat as its personnel.



## **BRYAN OPPOSES ROGER C. SULLIVAN AT STATE CONVENTION**

The State central committee decided to go to Peoria for the state convention of 1906, and it met there August 21, for a two days' session.

Chairman Boeschenstein called the convention to order and introduced Judge C. C. Boggs as the chairman, and Edward Cahill, of Springfield, as secretary.

The convention settled down to routine work and dispensed with oratory at this time.

A fight on Roger C. Sullivan was then being made by friends of W. J. Bryan, who felt that Mr. Sullivan should not be a member of the state committee.

Mr. Bryan was in Europe at the time on his tour and wired to Judge Owen Thompson, of Jacksonville, a message which contained the following sentence: "Oppose instructions unless Sullivan repudiated."

Judge Thompson led the fight against Sullivan, but failed by a vote of 1,038 to 570.

The platform denounced the primary law which had been passed by the General Assembly in 1905; demanded new banking laws protecting the small depositors; denounced Congress for its failure to enact anti-trust laws; favored child labor laws and the eight-hour law for labor and in general assailed the Republican state administration for extravagance and maladministration of charitable institutions.

The convention nominated the following state ticket:

State Treasurer—Nicholas L. Piotrowsky.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Miss Caroline Grote.

The membership of the state central committee was selected as follows:

At Large—H. W. Wheeler, D. Heenan, S. D. Griffin, J. P. O'Malley,

T. S. Stanton, J. Shaw, J. H. Donohue, George A. Cooke, C. J. Dittamroe, Ernest Hoover and Isaac B. Craig.

First District—John McCarthy.

Second District—Joseph J. Kelly.

Third District—J. J. O'Rourke.

Fourth District—E. J. Rainey.

Fifth District—William Loeffler.

Sixth District—M. L. Sullivan.

Seventh District—Roger C. Sullivan.

Eighth District—M. O. Conlon.

Ninth District—John McGillen.

Tenth District—John T. Connerly.

Eleventh District—D. J. Hogan.

Twelfth District—James G. Doyle.

Thirteenth District—Martin J. Dillon.

Fourteenth District—Truman H. Plantz.

Fifteenth District—J. H. DeWolf.

Sixteenth District—Frank J. Quinn.

Seventeenth District—Louis Y. FitzHenry.

Eighteenth District—A. L. White.

Nineteenth District—C. J. Milikin.

Twentieth District—Frank Orr.

Twenty-first District—A. W. Crawford.

Twenty-second District—Charles Boeschenstein.

Twenty-third District—George M. LeCrone.

Twenty-fourth District—A. W. Charles.

Twenty-fifth District—Wm. Hart.

### BOESCHENSTEIN RE-ELECTED

The state committee met in Springfield at a later date and completed its organization by electing Charles Boeschenstein, chairman and D. J. Hogan, secretary.

The state ticket was again defeated, the party polling 271,984 votes and losing by a majority of 145,560 votes.

## **BRYAN'S LAST ATTEMPT AT THE PRESIDENCY; STEVENSON FAR AHEAD**

There were two Democratic state conventions in 1908.

The first, held at the Springfield state arsenal in May, was for the purpose of electing delegates to the Denver national convention.

The Springfield convention, while controlled by Roger C. Sullivan, unanimously endorsed Bryan for nomination as president.

"He cannot win, but neither can any other Democrat, until he gets out of the way," was Roger's comment to his closest friends.

A feeling of unrest in the nation was conducive nevertheless, to a feeling that this year might see the election of a Democrat as president and therefore a fine chance of electing the governor of Illinois.

When the state convention met in Peoria on September 9, 1908, a great number of orators was marshalled to speak to the delegates.

It was a very enthusiastic gathering.

The state committee had selected Former Congressman Fred J. Kern, of Belleville, to act as chairman of the convention and he was introduced by State Chairman Charles Boeschenstein. Mr. Kern started to speak but had only talked a few minutes when Senator Gore, the blind senator from Oklahoma was led to the platform.

The convention went into an uproar and demanded to hear the Senator at once.

Kern good-naturedly gave way and the Senator was introduced.

He made a short speech in which he paid tribute to Lincoln, Grant, Logan, Douglas and other great Illinois men, and said: "And Illinois now gives you the opportunity to give to the nation and its people another son—William Jennings Bryan."

This statement was met with long applause.



Mr. Bryan, nominated for president at the Denver convention, was present in Peoria.

His entire stay was one great ovation.

Everywhere he went he was met with the greatest enthusiasm and at this juncture was introduced to the convention, making one of his remarkable speeches.

His reception was all that any man could seek, and Mr. Bryan went from Illinois expressly confident that he would carry the state in the fall election.

This year was the first that the state primary election had determined the state ticket.

The primary was held on August 8 and the following had been elected as the nominees for state offices:

Governor—Adlai Ewing Stevenson, Bloomington.

Lieutenant Governor—Elmer A. Perry, Springfield.

Secretary of State—Francis Xavier Beidler, Lincoln.

Auditor—Ralph Jeffries, Charleston.

Treasurer—John B. Mount, Joliet.

Attorney General—Ross C. Hall, Chicago.

Clerk of Supreme Court—John L. Pickering, Springfield.

The platform adopted reaffirmed the national platform adopted at Denver and added a few planks dealing with state affairs. It paid tribute to William Jennings Bryan and John W. Kern, the national candidates; also strongly endorsed Adlai E. Stevenson and the entire state ticket; and demanded prudence in the administration of the state institutions and the state finances.

### STEVENSON'S STRONG ADDRESS

Mr. Stevenson was called to the platform and made a very strong address. Among other things he said:

“The office of governor is one of great honor and of great responsibility. It has little to do with any possible determination of questions of national politics. From the moment the oath of office is taken, the incumbent governor is the accredited representative of all the people of the state. From that moment he should cease to be a partisan. It is a great

business office, having to do with the dearest, nearest interests of five and a half millions of people. \* \* \* \*

“At this very hour, the people of our great state have deeper concern in the skillful and humane care of the inmates of our charitable institutions than in any pending question of national policies. It may be that in the not distant future, the list of inmates will be lengthened to include loved ones from our own hearthstones. Whatever differences may exist upon other questions there is absolute consensus of opinion that our charitable institutions should be conducted upon the highest possible plane, wholly disconnected from partisan politics. \* \* \* \*

“The executive of this great state, who for the time prescribed, keeps steadily in view the welfare of the entire people, and by judicious appointments and tireless vigilance, causes our charitable institutions to fulfill the sublime purpose of their creation, can at the close seek retirement from official station with the glad consciousness that he had indeed rendered a public service.”

### STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The newly elected state committeemen were as follows:

First District—John B. Ryan.

Second District—James J. Kelly.

Third District—J. J. O'Rourke.

Fourth District—Edward J. Rainey.

Fifth District—Thomas J. Scully.

Sixth District—M. L. Sullivan.

Seventh District—Eugene W. Sullivan.

Eighth District—Michael C. Conlon.

Ninth District—John McGillen.

Tenth District—August Krumholz.

Eleventh District—John A. Logan.

Twelfth District—James G. Doyle.

Thirteenth District—William Hogan.

Fourteenth District—George A. Cooke.

Fifteenth District—H. N. Wheeler.

Sixteenth District—Edward D. McCabe.

Seventeenth District—Louis FitzHenry.

Eighteenth District—Harry Moss.

Nineteenth District—Isaac B. Craig.

Twentieth District—Wm. N. Hairgrove.

Twenty-first District—Ernest Hoover.

Twenty-second District—Chas. J. Boeschenstein.

Twenty-third District—John J. Baker.

Twenty-fourth District—Arthur W. Charles.

Twenty-fifth District—Wm. S. Cantrall.

At a subsequent date this committee met and selected as its officers Charles Boeschenstein, chairman, and George A. Cooke, secretary.

This campaign brought to a close the active political participation of two of the most illustrious men in the party who hailed from the great state of Illinois—William Jennings Bryan and Adlai E. Stevenson.

### THIRD ATTEMPT FAILS

This was Mr. Bryan's third attempt to reach the presidency. The elements which had fought him within his own party were still in a large measure active against him, and although he was still a force to be reckoned with, he never again was seriously considered as presidential timber.

As will be noted in the chapter dealing with his life, he still had the power to make or break candidates, and he lived to see his choice serve the people as president in the person of Woodrow Wilson, under whom Bryan, himself, served as Secretary of State until their ways diverged over the World War situation.

Mr. Stevenson never again ran for any office.

His great popularity however cut the Republican majority of 179,122 for president down to 23,164 for governor. His home county, McLean, gave him a great vote of confidence. Its normal Republican majorities ran from three to four thousand, but Mr. Stevenson lost it by less than three hundred.

The party, while meeting defeat, still maintained a delegation of eight Congressmen in Washington and had seventy-seven votes on joint ballot in the General Assembly.

After the November election there was a quite general feeling that

Stevenson really had won, but had been cheated out in the Busse wards of Chicago and elsewhere.

A contest was started before the 1909 general assembly but was sidetracked by the bipartism election of Shurtleff as speaker and Lorimer as senator.









LOUIS FITZHENRY

## DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN OF 1910 GAVE SIGNS OF COMING VICTORY

Viewed from a national standpoint, the campaign of 1910 gave many and sure signs of the Democratic victory that was to follow two years later.

In that campaign, the Democrats captured the lower branch of Congress for the first time since 1892, when that able Georgian statesman, Charles F. Crisp, had been re-elected speaker.

Since 1903, that picturesque and hard-boiled Republican from Danville, Illinois, Joseph G. Cannon, had retained possession of the speaker's gavel, and had wielded it to the marked disadvantage of the Democratic minority.

But, by the vote of November 1910, "Uncle Joe" was destined to surrender the gavel to that brilliant and well-beloved, if somewhat erratic Missouri statesman, Champ Clark, of Pike—the latter to hold it for eight years thereafter.

In Illinois, as in other states, the Democrats made gains in that year's congressional electors.

To the Congress of 1909-1911, only six Democrats had been elected from our state, these being:

James T. Dermott, Chicago.

Adolph J. Sabath, Chicago.

Thomas Gallagher, Chicago.

Henry T. Rainey, Carrollton.

James M. Graham, Springfield.

Martin D. Foster, Olney.

But, in November 1910, the Democrats of Illinois added to this distinguished list, the names of:

Edmund J. Stack, Chicago.

Frank Buchanan, Chicago.

Lynden Evans, Chicago.

Claude U. Stone, Peoria.

H. Robert Fowler, Elizabethtown.

This made the Illinois delegation at Washington stand 11 to 14, which certainly was not so bad in view of earlier years.

Moreover, in other Illinois districts, the Democratic congressional nominees reduced the erstwhile heavy Republican majorities to slim margins.

Evidence of this was in the seventeenth, or Bloomington, district, where Louis F. Fitzhenry, now one of the most honored of American jurists, polled 14,215 votes and was beaten by a plurality of only 2,386 in a district which usually had given the Republican nominee three or four times that advantage.

### INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

But the campaign for the "off year" state offices to be filled that November, was a somewhat listless affair and, in measure at least, was subordinated not only to the keener interest in the congressional fights, but in the considerable ado raised over the Initiative and Referendum, submitted to the voters.

One hears very little nowadays about the once famous I and R.

But, then, it was a subject of intense discussion, and the average Illinois voter was bombarded with heavy volume of pamphlets, pro and con.

It was, too, a favorite proposition with the redoubtable Theodore Roosevelt and, two years later, was included in the Progressive national platform.

Writing in 1935, it may be stated that the Initiative and Referendum is now at the disposal of all Illinois voters who live in cities under the commission form of government, but it seldom is mentioned and even less frequently invoked.

### THREE PROPOSITIONS VOTED ON

Three public policy propositions were submitted to the Illinois voters that year.

They were:





GEORGE K. PAGE

To instruct the general assembly to take action for a constitutional amendment to include the Initiative and Referendum.

To extend civil service in public office.

To limit the amount that could be expended in political campaigns.

The vote on the first proposition was 447,908 for, to 128,398 against.

On the civil service proposition it was 411,676 for, to 121,123 against.

On limiting campaign expenditures there were 422,437 affirmative votes to 122,689 negative.

### **NOMINEES NOT SO FORTUNATE**

But, while all the propositions thus carried by big majorities, the Democratic nominees for state offices did not fare so well in that election of November 8, 1910.

Alpheus E. Hartley, a Democrat of high integrity, and of fine personality, was defeated by Edward E. Mitchell, the Republican candidate, for state treasurer, the vote for Hartley being 376,046, while his successful opponent received 436,484.

For superintendent of public instruction, that talented educator, Conrad M. Bardwell, lost out, gathering 370,870 votes to 430,332 given his Republican rival, Francis Grant Blair, thus continuing the latter in the office to which he had been elected four years earlier, and which office he was destined to continue to hold through landslides and otherwise, until the great Democratic year 1934.

### **GAINS IN ASSEMBLY**

So Illinois Democracy had to rest content in 1910 with their congressional victories, and with several gains in the general assembly, where they increased their joint membership from 77 in 1909 to 83 in 1911; while the Republican total was cut from 127 to 117.

### **THE 1910 CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Democratic state central committeemen of 1910 were elected by congressional districts in the primary, by the voters direct, instead of by the convention delegates as had been the case until the new primary law had been passed.



Charles Boeschenstein, of Edwardsville, was chairman, and Isaac B. Craig, of Mattoon, secretary.

The members, by districts, as reported to the state convention, were:

- 1—Robert Redfield, Chicago.
- 2—James J. Kelly, Chicago.
- 3—Henry P. Bergen, Chicago.
- 4—Thomas F. Aylward, Chicago.
- 5—Frank Venecek, Chicago.
- 6—Stephen D. Griffin, Chicago.
- 7—Eugene W. Sullivan, Chicago.
- 8—Michael C. Conlon, Chicago.
- 9—Herman J. Bauler, Chicago.
- 10—John Haderlein, Chicago.
- 11—John A. Logan, Elgin.
- 12—Fred Le Roy, Streator.
- 13—William Hogan, Lanark.
- 14—John W. Williams, Carthage.
- 15—H. N. Wheeler, Quincy.
- 16—Joseph A. Weil, Peoria.
- 17—Martin A. Brennan, Bloomington.
- 18—Harry Moss, Paris.
- 19—Isaac B. Craig, Mattoon.
- 20—James McNabb, Carrollton.
- 21—Ernest Hoover, Taylorville.
- 22—Charles Boeschenstein, Edwardsville.
- 23—Rene Havill, Mt. Carmel.
- 24—Arthur W. Charles, Carmi.
- 25—William S. Cantrell, Benton.

## **CAMPAIGN OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY IN 1912 OFF TO EARLY START**

The Illinois Democratic campaign of 1912 got off to an unusually early start.

In November 1911, Congressman Benjamin Franklin Caldwell, of Chatham, who had made a real mark at Washington, formally announced his candidacy for governor.

Almost simultaneously, Samuel Alschuler, of Aurora and Chicago, who had been the party standard bearer in 1900, made similar formal announcement.

This quickly was followed by that of Former Judge and Former Mayor Edward F. Dunne, of Chicago.

George E. Dickson was another aspirant for gubernatorial honors, but his candidacy attracted scant attention and he got but few votes.

### **ROGER SULLIVAN'S FORECAST**

The author then was editor of a Springfield Democratic daily newspaper, and one which always had been outspoken for Roger C. Sullivan, then the national committeeman from Illinois.

Ben Caldwell resided in the Springfield district and, naturally, the Democratic press of Springfield was friendly to his candidacy.

Hence, when Congressman Caldwell asked the writer to present his candidacy to Roger C. Sullivan, prompt acquiescence was given.

This interview had occurred in the national committeeman's private office on Michigan boulevard, the day following Thanksgiving in 1911 and, in part, may be related here as showing the remarkable powers of political foresight possessed by a famous leader of Illinois Democracy.

"I know and like Mr. Caldwell. He is a fine man and a fine Democrat, who would make a great governor," said Mr. Sullivan.

"But I am equally friendly to Sam Alschuler and a little closer to him personally, than to either of the other candidates. Perhaps, if I had the say, I would be disposed to reward Alschuler's sacrifice in 1900 by giving him the nomination now," he continued.

"We are going to take no part for or against any of the candidates for governor in the primary, however.

"There are many excellent reasons why we should take this stand, and one of them is that we have a real fight on our hands to keep control of the state organization, and we are not going to jeopardize ourselves in that regard by being for or against any of the three candidates for governor in the primary election.

"Instead, we are going to go along with Caldwell in Caldwell territory, with Alschuler in Alschuler territory, and with Dunne in Dunne territory.

"You can tell Mr. Caldwell that our organization wishes him well, and that he can rely on our doing him no harm in his candidacy.

"But," he added, "while I wouldn't want you to tell him this, I am sure I can tell you who the nominee will be. It will be Dunne and, what is more, he not only is going to be nominated, but he is going to be the next governor of Illinois."

Subsequent history proved the entire correctness of Roger C. Sullivan's prediction made a year before that prediction was verified by the election itself.

Your writer always will feel, from several other things said by the national committeeman, to him then and later, that of the three serious contenders on the Democratic side, Judge Dunne was the one least preferred by Roger C. Sullivan.

But Sullivan did as he said he would.

In the very interesting campaign that followed, the Roger Sullivan organization went along with Dunne men in Dunne districts, with Alschuler men in Alschuler districts, and with Caldwell men in Caldwell districts.

### **PREDICTED WILSON VICTORY**

But the nomination and election of Dunne was not the only long-distance forecast made by Roger C. Sullivan to the writer on that November 1911 afternoon.

John P. Hopkins was present, and the three of us got to discussing the field of presidential possibilities.

On grounds of personal friendship, the writer had printed several editorials favorable to the candidacy of Governor Judson Harmon, of Ohio, who had support in several states, but who, later decided not to file his name in the Illinois primary election.

Champ Clark then was a leading candidate but, while the writer knew him well and liked him much, his newspaper had been committed to Woodrow Wilson rather than to Clark, as between the two who finally became the real battle figures of the Baltimore convention.

"Roger seems to be pretty sure that Governor Wilson will not only be the nominee, but that he will be elected," Mr. Hopkins had remarked.

"But Champ Clark seems to have all the best of it down in my section of the state," the writer interposed.

"Clark will carry Illinois, but Woodrow Wilson will be the nominee and, unless I am much mistaken, he's going to be the next president of the United States," Roger Sullivan said while, as usual, he whittled.

Asked as to what was wrong with Clark, the national committee-man replied:

"He's a wonderful fellow, but no one wants William Randolph Hearst for president, and that's what it would mean if Champ Clark ever got in the white house."

All, of which, not only gave evidence of Roger C. Sullivan's keen political vision, but was one of the reasons why the writer regarded it as entirely logical that the Illinois delegation to the Baltimore convention, seven months later under the leadership of its chairman, that same Roger Sullivan, should swing from Clark to Wilson at the crucial hour, assuring the nomination of that great former president of Princeton University, who then was governor of New Jersey.

### PRIMARY ELECTION RESULTS

But, returning to the primary fight of 1912 for the nomination for governor of Illinois, the figures of April 9 of that year, told the following story:

Edward F. Dunne, 131,212 votes.

Samuel W. Alschuler, 87,127 votes.

Ben F. Caldwell, 71,972 votes.

George E. Dickson, 9,034 votes.

That result further emphasized the growing dominance of Chicago in Illinois Democratic affairs for, as between Cook county and the rest of the state, the vote was divided:

Dunne—Cook county, 106,253; outside, 24,959.

Alschuler—Cook county, 41,502; outside, 45,625.

Caldwell—Cook county, 9,260; outside, 62,712.

### **CALDWELL CARRIED MOST COUNTIES**

Benjamin Franklin Caldwell had the distinction of carrying more counties than any other candidate.

Of the 102, he was the choice of 45.

Samuel Alschuler carried 43.

Judge Dunne carried 14, which included Peoria where the Democratic state convention was to be held shortly thereafter.

The defeated candidates gave gallant and unselfish assistance to Judge Dunne in the campaign of that year.

Mr. Caldwell was chairman of the downtown mass meeting, held on the east side of the historic Sangamon county court house and former capitol, in Springfield, on the morning of Thursday of state fair week, October, 1912.

Woodrow Wilson, who spoke three times in Springfield that day to crowds that were estimated at an aggregate of more than 80,000, was the principal attraction, but Edward F. Dunne and his fellow nominees on the state ticket were all given great ovations.

The presidential nominee later declared that the Springfield meetings were the "turning point" of his campaign.

### **THE 1912 STATE COMMITTEE**

Arthur W. Charles of Carmi, was chairman, and Robert M. Sweitzer, of Chicago, secretary of the Democratic state central committee named at the primary, and which committee conducted the sweepingly

successful campaign of 1912 which placed Illinois in the Wilson-Marshall column and every Democratic state candidate in office.

The personnel of the committee was:

1. George Noonan, Chicago.
2. Edward F. Brennan, Chicago.
3. Frank J. Walsh, Chicago.
4. James J. McCormie, Chicago.
5. Michael Zimmer, Chicago.
6. Robert M. Sweitzer, Chicago.
7. James Furlong, Chicago.
8. Michael F. Sullivan, Chicago.
9. James J. Townsend, Chicago.
10. Peter Reinberg, Chicago.
11. John A. Logan, Elgin.
12. Fred Le Roy, Streator.
13. C. J. Dittmer, Freeport.
14. John W. Williams, Carthage.
15. H. N. Wheeler, Quincy.
16. Joseph A. Weil, Peoria.
17. Martin A. Brennan, Bloomington.
18. Clint C. Tilton, Danville.
19. James M. Gray, Decatur.
20. James McNabb, Carrollton.
21. Ernest Hoover, Taylorville.
22. Jerry J. Kane, East St. Louis.
23. Thomas J. Newlin, Robinson.
24. Arthur W. Charles, Carmi.
25. William S. Cantrell, Benton.





## **WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE APPEARS AT 1912 PEORIA CONCLAVE OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY**

If the writer of this history were asked to name the father of women's suffrage among the members of the Illinois Democracy, he would be disposed to award the laurel to Kent E. Keller, of Ava, now congressman from the twenty-fifth district, and who recently was re-elected by the largest majority ever recorded therein.

The talented Kent was a member of the resolutions committee of the April, 1912 Peoria Democratic state convention.

Women's suffrage then was regarded with suspicion by most political leaders of both parties and in most states.

So, when a delegation of prominent women appeared before the platform committee in executive session at the Jefferson hotel, and requested a hearing, there was some opposition to granting the request.

But better judgment prevailed, and the ladies were told that they could have twenty minutes in which to present their case.

The writer of this history was a member of that committee from the twenty-first congressional district, and can testify that few causes ever have been presented more logically or convincingly than women's suffrage was presented that afternoon.

The presentation was so brilliantly made that, although the convention proper was impatiently awaiting the committee's report, the time allotted the ladies repeatedly was extended until nearly two hours had been consumed.

When it came to the matter of voting on a women's suffrage plank in the platform, the lamented Charles A. Karch, of East St. Louis, who was chairman of the resolutions committee, suggested that the gubernatorial nominee, Judge Edward F. Dunne, who, with Will O'Connell and other intimate advisors, was in an adjacent room, should be consulted.

This was done, and Judge Dunne asked the writer if he could find

out what the Republican state convention, then in session at Springfield, was doing about a women's suffrage plank.

The writer called his Springfield newspaper office, over long distance, and found that the Republican state convention already had decided not to include such a plank.

A majority of the committee, with the acquiescence of the gubernatorial nominee, appeared to favor similar Democratic rejection, but Kent Keller put up a valiant battle in favor of adoption of the suffrage plank.

In this, he was supported by only five members of the committee and, so, the majority report, as presented to the convention soon after, contained no allusion to women's suffrage.

Mr. Keller carried his fight to the floor of the convention by means of a minority report, but was overwhelmingly defeated.

It is significant, though, that very early in the Dunne administration, the following year, Illinois women were granted the right of suffrage and the governor was an enthusiastic supporter of it.

### TRAGEDY AND MOTHBALLS

Interest in the proceedings of that Peoria convention was somewhat dimmed by the hunger of delegates to obtain the fullest news of the great Titanic disaster, which had just taken place.

Preliminary to the convention, there were many indications of stubborn fight over the seating of delegates from Chicago—the quite customary battle, in those days, between the Roger C. Sullivan and the Carter H. Harrison forces.

But the matter was adjusted in the credentials committee, and the proceedings of the convention were fairly harmonious throughout.

A good laugh was raised when Michael E. Bray, of Litchfield, passed large boxes of alleged candy balls among his fellow delegates, who, on getting the presumed sweetmeats in their mouths, discovered that they were mothballs, instead.

Little comedy plays of this sort, are not without their value in counting for better humor in minutes when conventions get tense.

The general good nature at Peoria, that April, helped in the election of the whole state ticket the following November.





HENRY M. PINDELL

## ONE ELECTION IN WHICH DOWNSTATE DEMOCRACY REVERSED CHICAGO VOTE

The campaign of 1912 was unusual, among twentieth century elections, in that the downstate section of Illinois Democracy, that November, overruled the vote of Cook county for the important office of president of the United States.

In that three-way fight, Theodore Roosevelt was a prime favorite with the voters of Chicago, and when the ballots were counted, they revealed the following Cook county totals, as between the three leading nominees:

Roosevelt .....	166,061
Wilson .....	130,702
Taft .....	74,851

But the man destined to guide our nation's destinies through a World War, fared much better with downstate voters, the official tabulation outside Cook showing:

Wilson .....	271,346
Roosevelt .....	220,417
Taft .....	178,742

That's how Wilson came to carry Illinois by 18,570 plurality—making it a complete victory for Illinois Democracy for the first time in twenty years.

Wilson and Marshall, that year, carried 64 downstate counties. Roosevelt and Johnson carried Cook and 27 others, Taft and "Sunny Jim" Sherman had to be content with ten.

### HISTORIC MEETING AT SPRINGFIELD

Woodrow Wilson toured Illinois twice that year—first as a primary candidate against Champ Clark, later as the standard bearer of the Democracy.



His simple bearing and his fine personality won many thousands of voters to his candidacy.

The Illinois state fair was the scene of historic meeting, in October that year, when, for the first time since the Baltimore convention of July, Champ Clark met Wilson, face to face, and the pair shook hands as the tens of thousands gathered in the big coliseum on the fair grounds, applauded for many minutes.

John M. Crebs, of Carmi, presided over that tremendous gathering.

The committee in charge of that day's three Woodrow Wilson meetings was composed of Judge Rufus C. Potts, Dr. Otto H. Seifert, and Walter A. Townsend, all of Springfield.

On account of the density of the crowd, this committee had a real task in getting their automobile, with the Champ Clark party, through to the speaker's stand, that afternoon.

Accompanying Speaker Clark, were Former Governor David R. Francis, later president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition; Former Governor Joseph Wingate Folk, and other famous Missouri Democrats.

### INTERESTING REMINISCENCES

Here are a few reminiscences of that meeting which may be of interest:

Woodrow Wilson walked from the St. Nicholas through great crowds to the morning mass meeting on the Springfield public square.

When this was suggested to him by the committee, he said: "Fine! Walking is the really Democratic way, and it will give me a much-needed opportunity to stretch my legs."

While waiting at the St. Nicholas, that same afternoon, for the start of the big parade to the fair grounds, the future president addressed Edward F. Dunne as "Governor."

"Not yet," replied the latter.

"Well, it's as good as Dunne, anyway," said Wilson, breaking into one of his famous puns.

### ILLINOIS AT BALTIMORE

Early Woodrow Wilson admirers among the Illinois Democracy, Harry M. Pindell, of Peoria; Lawrence B. Stringer, of Lincoln; and

Irving Shuman, then of Sullivan but now of Chicago, played their part at the Baltimore convention, that year, by their constant urging of Roger C. Sullivan to throw the Illinois strength to the New Jersey governor.

Roger Sullivan had been friendly to Woodrow Wilson from the start, but he wanted to give Champ Clark, who had carried the Illinois primary, a square deal.

That's why he delayed the Illinois switch to Woodrow Wilson.

When that switch came, it was all over but the shouting.

### REASON FOR BRYAN FIGHT

But an earlier factor in the fight of Baltimore, had been the eloquently outspoken opposition of William Jennings Bryan to the Clark candidacy, as especially expressed in the battle over the naming of Alton B. Parker, of New York, for the chairmanship.

A few weeks after the convention, Bryan stopped over in Springfield on his way to a Chautauqua appearance.

He had sent for several Springfield Democrats to meet him in his room at the St. Nicholas.

Among these were Judge Creighton, Henry W. Clendenin, Thomas Rees, and the writer.

The latter pointedly asked Bryan why he so bitterly had opposed Clark's nomination.

Here's what the great Nebraskan said in reply:

"You generally can judge a candidate's backing by his selection of a campaign manager, and when Mr. Clark selected Mr. Dubois for that position, there could be no doubt as to where he really stood!"

Bryan was just in the act of putting on a clean shirt.

"Careful, Mr. Bryan!" said Tom Rees, "this is Springfield and Springfield is Dubois' old home town."

Bryan laughed.

Dubois then was Democratic senator from Idaho.







EDWARD F. DUNNE

## **LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF "FRIENDLIEST ADMINISTRATION" OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY**

The Democratic administration headed by Edward F. Dunne (1913-1917) was one of the most capable, conscientious, and constructive in the history of Illinois.

It placed on the statute books many laws that became, and still are, the basis for the management of most state institutions, and which marked a distinct advance in good government.

Among these may be mentioned the act creating Illinois' first board of administration and the purpose of which was to provide humane and scientific treatment of the dependent wards of the state, to promote the study of the causes of dependency and delinquency and to secure the highest attainable degree of efficiency and economy in the administration of the state institutions.

Another great constructive step of the Dunne administration, was the passage of hitherto long-discussed and long-delayed legislation for the control of the public service corporations of the state—the creation of Illinois' first public utilities commission, or, as it now is known, the Illinois Commerce commission.

In keeping with the vogue of that period, these commissions were appointed on a bi-partisan or non-partisan basis, with not more than three of the five members constituting each commission, being from any one party.

The writer may be wrong, but he always has felt that this was "the better way" and it was with real regret that he noticed the success of the Republican moves, made under subsequent administrations, to have these commissions changed to one-party affairs, absolutely controlled by the administration that might be in power.

Despite occasional clamor for its abolition, there hardly can be



reasonable doubt that the control of the public service corporations by the state, has given the consumer a much "fairer break" than was the case before the system was introduced under the Dunne regime and that, the people of Illinois have made great savings in their bills for electricity, gas, and other utilities, as a consequence.

### **KERN HEADS BOARD**

Then, too, it would be difficult to find anyone in 1935 who would question the wisdom of maintaining our institutions for the care of the wards of the state under the humane, efficient and economical system that was inaugurated by Edward F. Dunne, as governor, and by the first board of administration, appointed by him in 1913, and which was headed by that sterling Democrat and man of real parts—the now lamented Fred J. Kern, of Belleville.

James Hyland, of Chicago, and Thomas O'Connor, of Peoria, were the other Democrats on that first board, and they proved worthy associates of Editor Kern.

Confronted by a really tremendous task in remapping the administration of the state's many charitable, penological and eleemosynary institutions, they did it in a manner on which no word or hostile criticism was heard.

### **MOST DISTINGUISHING FEATURE**

If the Dunne administration had done nothing more along constructive lines than the things enumerated, it still would be one to which Illinois Democrats could "point with pride"; but it was brimful of many other steps in behalf of the ordinary citizen.

To the writer, then editor and publisher of a Democratic daily in Springfield, it is well remembered panorama, viewed at close range, yet, if he were asked to write a paragraph that adequately would set out its most distinguishing, everyday feature, he would write:

"The Dunne administration was the most genial of all and, with the door ever ajar in welcome to every legitimate visitor—Democrat or Republican."

In penning these lines I have no thought of criticism, implied or

otherwise, of any administration that has followed and regardless of its political complexion.

For things were different then than they now are.

It is true, that even in 1913, there were "hordes of office seekers," but there were only hundreds in those days of Edward F. Dunne, and of Barrett O'Hara, and of Harry Woods, and of Pat Lucey, and of Jim Brady, and of "Bill" Ryan, the honest blacksmith; whereas, largely on account of the long-continued depression, there now are not only thousands but tens of thousands.

Even in Governor Dunne's day the persistent office-seeker was a good deal of a problem as may be shown by a casual remark made in 1913 to the author of this book, by the then Democratic executive.

"I am told that the dome of the state house can be seen, on a fine day, from nearly all parts of Sangamon county and from a considerable portion of adjacent territory.

"Sometimes I think that on such bright days, every Democrat gets up in the morning, takes a look at the capitol dome, and says: 'Good, I'll go down there and have Dunne give me a job'."

### **WITH HANDSHAKE AND SMILE**

But, ably aided by the able, ever genial private secretary, William L. (Billy) Sullivan, Edward F. Dunne always met them with that sincere smile and hearty handshake, which sent most of them away happy even if none of the loaves and fishes of political office were to be had.

### **BUT IT COULDN'T BE DONE**

The writer visualizes that more than one disappointed Democrat of 1935, reading of these things of twenty years earlier, will say: "Why cannot Horner and Donovan and Hughes and Kerner and Barrett and Stelle and Wieland do like Dunne and others used to do in 1915?"

The answer, of course, is that it just simply couldn't be done, much, as he is sure, present Democratic officers would like to do it.

Applications for state positions have been so multitudinous since Henry Horner took office that, even if the executive and his fellow Democratic officials attempted to see even one-twentieth of all the supplicants, they would have no time whatsoever for attending to the duties for which they were elected by the people of Illinois.

### THE DUNNE FAMILY CIRCLE

If the visitor to the state capitol met geniality from Dunne and his associate officials, the feeling of warm friendship was even more in evidence when one visited the executive mansion.

Somehow or other, the writing of that phrase "executive mansion" seems entirely out of keeping with those days for memories of the Dunne family, the warm courtesy of the wife and mother, now beyond life's shadows—Mona and Eileen and Geraldine and little Jeanette and the boys—all of these bespoke just a happy, loving, lovable American home rather than "an executive mansion."

Here, too, it was a case of open door to high and low and rich and poor, alike.

Many notable and notably enjoyable social functions were held in the governor's house during the Dunne term.

Among some of those out of the ordinary and which the writer recalls in pleasant memory, were dinners at which William Jennings Bryan, James Hamilton Lewis, and numerous other notables were present, including one dinner that was commemorative of the Stephen A. Douglas anniversary, and at which the closest surviving lineal descendant of the "Little Giant" was the guest of honor.

### PERHAPS THE MOST NOTABLE

But, perhaps, most notable of all was the small gathering at which Former President Theodore Roosevelt was the principal guest.

Edward F. Dunne had been in considerable quandary about the Roosevelt dinner, for it presented unusual problems.

Roosevelt, former idol of the Republican party, but who had left its ranks in 1912, came to Springfield in October, 1914, to speak at the since-destroyed state arsenal in behalf of the candidacy of Raymond Robbins, of Chicago, for United States Senator, as against Roger C. Sullivan, of Chicago, the Democratic nominee, and Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Springfield, the Republican candidate who, a month later, was elected over Sullivan by a close plurality.

Of course, a visiting former president of a nation had to be entertained by the governor, but who should be invited to sit with him at the banquet?

That was the question which confronted Governor and Mrs. Dunne.

Obviously, it would be malapropos to invite distinguished members of the party to which Roosevelt previously had belonged but which he then was trying to send into oblivion. Equally, it would look out of place to have leading members of the Illinois Democracy, which he also was fighting.

Then, too, the local leaders of the Progressive party, under whose auspices the former president was to appear at the state arsenal, were neither numerous nor outstanding.

After consulting with Henry W. Clendenin, Thomas Rees, Vincent Y. Dallman, with the present author, and with other Democratic newspaper men, it finally was decided to limit the invitations to the immediate members of the Roosevelt traveling party, leading ministers of each denomination in the city, and to local editors and other representatives of the press.

### **BISHOP OSBORNE THERE**

Hence, it was that Bishop Osborne of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Springfield, Vicar General Timothy Hickey, of what was then the see of Alton, but which now is the Catholic diocese of Springfield, and other recognized leaders of the world spiritual rather than of the world temporal, shared honors with the famous former president at the Dunne dinner board, that night.

Roosevelt was in his best and wittiest mood and kept all at the table laughing with good-natured anecdotes of several of which, he himself, was the butt.

Despite the prevalence of clerical garb, that dinner proved one of the happiest functions of Illinois Democratic administrations.

### **BUT THERE WERE SHADOWS**

But it was not all lights and smiles throughout the Dunne term.

That administration had its shadows and its intensive tragedy!

For that is our common life, the world over and in all generations.

The drama of death in the Dunne administration came shortly before it had reached the half-way mark—October, 1914, in the untimely end of Harry Woods, the kind-hearted but somewhat erratic Chicago

Democrat who had been elected secretary of state by great majority, in the general election of November, 1912, defeating Cornelius J. Doyle, the Republican silver-tongued orator, and Edward O. Peterson, the Progressive nominee.

The author of this history of the Illinois Democracy was something more than a silent spectator of that tragic chapter.

A close friend and neighbor of the secretary of state, it had been the custom with members of his family, to go automobile riding with Mr. and Mrs. Woods and their two pretty little daughters, nearly every Sunday afternoon.

One of these quite usual appointments had been made for Sunday, October 11, 1914.

### SECRETARY MISSING

But, before the hour set for the ride, Mrs. Woods had come to the house of the writer and inquired if he had any information as to the secretary's whereabouts.

It transpired that Woods, who had paid a visit to his widowed mother in Chicago on the Friday immediately preceeding, had returned on the fast mail, arriving in Springfield just before eleven o'clock Saturday night, and had seemed in ordinary good spirits.

But, without any explanation to his wife, he had set his big alarm clock for 6:30 Sunday morning.

Arising promptly at that hour, he had hurriedly dressed and left.

As his large Thomas Flyer still was in the garage, which was locked, the conclusion was reached that the secretary had returned to Chicago on an early Sunday morning train.

But this illusion shockingly was shattered shortly after dawn the following morning, when the two little girls, panic-stricken, rushed over to the writer's home and informed him that their mother had just discovered that the keys to the locked garage were on the inside of the front door, clearly indicating that something was radically wrong in there.

The writer could not succeed in breaking in the heavy front doors, but succeeded in crashing a side door which also had been locked from



the inside and with a bedstead, occasionally used by the chauffeur, placed against it as a further blockade.

Harry Woods, first Democratic secretary of state of Illinois since 1896, was found sitting in his own blood with a bullet in his head.

The tragedy made a great sensation throughout the state, especially in his home city of Chicago where he was a familiar figure, not only in political circles but on the board of trade.

There was no doubt, as shown by the inquest, that it was a plain case of suicide, but there was the usual crop of rumors of this, that and the other thing.

### HAD BEEN SENATORIAL ASPIRANT

Harry Woods had been a candidate in the Democratic primary of a few weeks earlier for the United States senatorship; but, as all prognosticators had felt from the beginning, he had finished away in the rear of Roger C. Sullivan, the nominee, and of Judge Lawrence Stringer of Lincoln, Roger's chief opponent and the administration's candidate.

There was a general disposition to attribute the tragic deed to chagrin at his defeat in the primary, but the author of this history, who knew him so well, never had accepted this general verdict.

Harry Woods was the type of Democrat who fundamentally believes that "To the victor belongs the spoils."

On assuming office, he had removed Republican office holders right and left, and without regard to their civil service standing.

For this, he had gotten into difficulties with Governor Dunne's civil service commission and, with that body against him, he had carried a test case to the Supreme Court.

He had felt confident that he would win out before that august body, basing this confidence largely on the fact that three of the then sitting judges had dissented from the majority opinion sustaining the so-called "Deneen blanket amendments" to the civil service law.

But the personnel of the court recently had changed with the election of Justice Craig, and the secretary had banked on a changed decision.

He had proven wrong in this and had shown general worry over



the result, whereas he had accepted the verdict of the senatorial primary not only with good humor, but had had more than one hearty laugh at the result.

There are good reasons to believe that Secretary of State Harry Woods' rash deed came of a mind that had been deranged by brooding over civil service worries.

### **DISTINGUISHED MEN AT BIER**

After temporary interment in the receiving vault of Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield — where Abraham Lincoln's body also had rested, Harry Woods was buried in beautiful Roseland cemetery on the Chicago North shore.

The sermon was preached by the famous Bishop Samuel J. Fallows.

At the bier stood Carter H. Harrison, Jr. and scores of members of the Chicago board of trade, and hundreds who were notable in shaping the history of Illinois Democracy.

### **STEVENSON IS SUCCESSOR**

Lewis Greene Stevenson of Bloomington, son of the great Adlai E. was one of many applicants for the place, and was appointed by Governor Dunne to fill the unexpired term.

A comparative novice in Illinois Democratic politics, he made a high-grade, capable official, and added to the excellent general record of the 1913-1917 Democratic administration.

### **WHEREIN DUNNE'S BOOK ERRS**

In Governor Dunne's fine and dependable book, "Illinois, the Heart of the Nation," the following paragraph occurs:

"Since the adoption of the constitution of 1848, all governors of Illinois have been elected in November and inaugurated in January."

A correct statement ordinarily, but there are exceptions to every rule, and the one exception to date was in the case of the distinguished gentleman, who, himself wrote that paragraph.

Edward F. Dunne was not inaugurated in January, 1913, nor were any of his fellow Democrats who had been chosen at the polls, the prior November.

Instead, the terms of their Republican predecessors automatically

were extended by the serious difficulty which was experienced in solving that first essential, the election of the speaker of the house of representatives, until which function has been performed, the official vote cannot be canvassed nor declared effective.

The deadlock was due in some measure, at least, to one of the few political blunders of the lamented Roger C. Sullivan, in having those Chicago legislators who were especially friendly to him, stand by the candidacy of Representative John J. McLaughlin of the Nineteenth, Chicago, district.

From the very start, it was obvious to virtually every observer, including many who were personally known to Roger Sullivan, that McLaughlin had no possible chance of getting the seventy-seven requisite votes in a house in which no party had a majority, and which was divided; 72 Democrats, 52 Republicans, 26 Progressives, and 3 Socialists.

Medill McCormick, of Chicago, was one of the Progressive members, and early in that session showed those qualities of marked political strategy which later carried him to a United States senatorship.

In the speakership struggle, many of the downstate Democrats were strong for the election of either John M. Rapp, of Wayne county, or Charles A. Karch, of St. Clair—both of whom, later, went quite high in the councils of their party.

The deadlock finally was broken in the election of William McKinley from the Thirty-first, Chicago, district, and who made an excellent, fair-minded presiding officer under conditions that confronted few other speakers of the Illinois house.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that John P. Devine, of Dixon, speaker of the 1935-1936 general assembly, was one of the Democratic members of that 1913 body and was of valuable assistance in helping break the deadlock.

## FEBRUARY INAUGURATION

The delay meant that the Democratic officers-elect, most of whom were patient or impatient temporary residents of the old St. Nicholas Hotel in Springfield, pending action by the general assembly, had to wait until February 3 before they could be installed.

But they kept their usual good nature, and the inauguration was all the merrier when, at last, it came.

### WILL O'CONNELL LOOMS

William L. O'Connell was one of several stalwart figures that loomed high in the Illinois Democracy during the Dunne administration and who since have made marked imprint in party councils.

Mr. O'Connell, while not one of the original members of the Dunne public utilities commission, succeeded James E. Quan, also of Chicago, on that body and became its presiding officer—which important position he held with great ability.

The other Democratic members were Walter A. Shaw, of Chicago, and Judge Owen P. Thompson, of Jacksonville.

It was then a bi-partisan board and former Governor Richard Yates, of Springfield, and Frank H. Funk, of Bloomington, were the minority members.

C. N. Hebner, of Chicago, was the first secretary, but was succeeded by Robert V. Prather, of Olney, during the latter part of the term.

Everett Jennings, famous and colorful protege of James Hamilton Lewis, was general counsel of the commission.

Many additional pages well might be written concerning the Dunne administration, but most of the matter already has been so well covered in Governor Dunne's own book, that the present writer has confined himself rather to items not touched upon therein—to interesting incidents concerning the administration which, for the most part, not only was good but which, unlike some good things, was decidedly pleasant to take.





JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS

## THE LAST UNITED STATES SENATORS EVER TO BE ELECTED BY ASSEMBLY

Outstanding events in the early part of the Dunne administration, were the passage of the workmen's compensation act, and of the women's suffrage bill, of which mention already has been made.

But, by far, the greater public interest of that period pertained to the election of two United States senators—the last ever to be chosen by the general assembly.

James Hamilton Lewis, of Chicago, and Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Springfield, were the primary choices of their respective parties for the long term, in succession to Shelby M. Cullom, who had been defeated in the primary by his fellow townsman, the rapier-like Sherman.

But neither party had named a primary choice for the short term, to be filled as a result of the expulsion from the senate of William Lorimer, Chicago Republican.

With neither party controlling a majority of the assembly, and with the balance of power held by a considerable representation of Progressives, plus a scattering of Socialists, a long-continued deadlock ensued.

Roger Sullivan, then the recognized Democratic organization leader, was more or less confident that, with the right sort of effort, two Democrats would be elected.

Charles Boeschenstein, of Edwardsville, then national committee-man, was the caucus nominee of the Illinois Democracy for the short term, but, during the many ballots, several other prominent party men received complimentary votes.

The deadlock finally was broken as the result of an agreement which, at the time, was said to have been engineered by administration leaders without consultation with Roger Sullivan or other organization chieftains.



By virtue of this agreement, James Hamilton Lewis was elected for the long term, and Lawrence Y. Sherman for the short.

While organization representatives in the assembly acquiesced in the bi-partisan deal, there was much ill-feeling and many members of the legislature insisted on explaining their votes before casting the determining ballots.

Most vitriolic of all denunciations of the deal, was that of Lee O'Neil Browne, Democrat of Ottawa, then quite a power in the assembly and anything but friendly to Roger C. Sullivan.

But the agreement went through.

Several leaders of the Democratic state organization, declared that if the balloting had continued for a few more days, both Lewis and Boeschenstein would have been sent to Washington.

That, however, like so many other things political, was but a matter of opinion.





ROGER C. SULLIVAN

## RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE PLAYS PROMINENT PART IN DEFEAT OF SULLIVAN FOR SENATOR

A preponderant number of the Democratic state officials, nominated in the 1912 primary and elected with Woodrow Wilson that November, were of Catholic faith.

There was no Ku Klux Klan then, but its ancestor, the famous A. P. A. was much in evidence.

Throughout that campaign, Illinois voters were bombarded with free copies of the official A. P. A. organ, "The Menace" published at Aurora, Missouri.

In 1914, this war of intolerance was renewed.

The primary election that year, was held on September 9, and Roger C. Sullivan was nominated for United States Senator over that other splendid Illinois Democrat, Lawrence B. Stringer, of Lincoln, then congressman-at-large, and who had received the backing of the Dunne administration leaders.

The primary vote was: Sullivan, 141,005; Stringer, 109,928, with Harry Woods, Barrett, O'Hara and James Traynor receiving considerable support, and finishing in the order listed.

Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Springfield, was the primary nominee of the Republicans for re-election, and Raymond Robins, of Chicago, nominee of the Progressives, of which party Theodore Roosevelt then was the leader.

Added interest was given to the campaign that year, because it was the first in which a United States Senator was to be elected by direct vote of the people, and not by the general assembly.

The nomination of Roger C. Sullivan was the signal for another outburst of the propaganda of religious intolerance which had marked the 1912 campaign.

Not only daily whisperings, but pamphlets and placards were in evidence in many sections, especially downstate.

But a clearer and more logical argument, much used in downstate counties against both Sullivan and Raymond Robins was that, with James Hamilton Lewis already in the Senate, the election of any candidate other than Sherman would give Chicago both representatives in the upper branch of Congress.

### MADE AUTOMOBILE TRIP

The Democratic senatorial nominee, that year, relied on personal touch with the voters, rather than on public speaking.

For the most part, the latter was left to that engrossing campaign orator, Congressman-at-large William Elza Williams, of Pittsfield, who, by the way, was the only Democratic nominee to survive the November election.

Meanwhile, Roger Sullivan, accompanied by an automobile load of newspaper men, journeyed from top to bottom of the state, and cordially was greeted by many tens of thousands.

As he entered each section, he would be joined by well-known party men of the district.

That veteran Democrat, Richard F. Kinsella, of Springfield, and Edmund Burke, then state's attorney of Sangamon county, were among those who, with the author of this history, accompanied Roger Sullivan on a three-day trip through the central section of the state.

Three motor cars carried the party and, everywhere we went, the senatorial nominee was well received, although Mr. Sullivan, himself, more than once on that trip, expressed the thought that he was doomed to defeat.

### RESULT WAS CLOSE

The result was quite close with doubt as to the final outcome for two or three days.

Roger Sullivan carried Cook county easily, the vote there being:

Sullivan .....	159,372
Sherman .....	103,808
Robins .....	88,487

But it was different downstate, where the famous Democrat carried only 17 counties to 80 for Sherman, and 3 for Robins.

Thus Roger was beaten by a plurality of 17,258, the total vote of the state being:

Sherman .....	390,661
Sullivan .....	373,403
Robins .....	203,027

W. C. "Cash" Clifford, of Champaign, lost the race for state treasurer to Andrew Russell, of Jacksonville, the Republican nominee, by 43,782 plurality.

Robert C. Moore, Carlinville Democrat, made a good run against Francis G. Blair for superintendent of public instruction, but was beaten by 58,687 votes.

Charles W. Vail beat Alexander W. Crawford, the Democratic nominee for clerk of the Supreme Court, with 23,409 votes to spare.

Congressman-at-large Williams, was the only Democratic victor, finishing in second place behind Burnett M. Chipperfield, Republican, but beating J. McCann Davis by the eyelash finish of 375,465 to 373,682.

Thomas P. Sullivan, of Chicago, the other Democratic nominee for congressman-at-large, finished in the rear.

### **TIE VOTE IN WHITE**

After the election, Roger Sullivan told the writer that the vote he regretted most of all was that of White county, home of his close friend, State Chairman Arthur W. Charles, of Carmi, and which he confidently had expected to carry, and which usually had been heavily Democratic.

The vote in White was a tie, 2,143 for Sullivan, and 2,143 for Sherman.

Defeat of Sullivan did not set so well with many of his leading supporters, and the charge was made, more or less openly, that the support given him by part of the Dunne organization had been decidedly lukewarm.

This charge occasionally was coupled with threats of reprisals against Governor Dunne in case he should be the nominee two years later.



**STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

That year's state central committee by districts, was:

- 1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.
- 2—James J. Sullivan, Chicago.
- 3—Eugene McCarthy, Jr., Chicago.
- 4—William J. Lynch, Chicago.
- 5—Hugo L. Pitte, Chicago.
- 6—Thomas M. Sullivan, Chicago.
- 7—James Furlong, Chicago.
- 8—Thomas J. O'Brien, Chicago.
- 9—Thomas Rohan, Chicago.
- 10—Thomas J. Dawson, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—William F. MacNamara, Ottawa.
- 13—Douglas Pattison, Freeport.
- 14—John W. Williams, Rock Island.
- 15—H. N. Wheeler, Quincy.
- 16—James M. Daugherty, Chillicothe.
- 17—Martin A. Brennan, Bloomington.
- 18—Clint C. Tilton, Danville.
- 19—Isaac B. Craig, Mattoon.
- 20—James McNabb, Carrollton.
- 21—Ernest Hoover, Taylorville.
- 22—Jerry J. Kane, East St. Louis.
- 23—George W. Fithian, Newton.
- 24—Arthur W. Charles, Carmi.
- 25—Edward M. Spiller, Marion.

## SECOND WOODROW WILSON CAMPAIGN BROUGHT DEFEAT TO ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY

While Woodrow Wilson was re-elected president in November, 1916, he had to do so without the aid of Illinois.

That was the year of the "He Kept Us out of War" campaign, with Charles Evans Hughes heading the Republican presidential ticket, and the ever-popular Frank O. Lowden, the candidate for governor.

There was some pre-primary opposition to certain members of the Dunne administration and the veteran William B. Brinton entered the lists against Governor Dunne.

The latter won the primary election by a wide margin, but Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara was beaten in that primary by Henry W. Huttman.

The state ticket of the Illinois Democracy in that campaign was:

For governor—Edward F. Dunne.

For lieutenant governor—Henry W. Huttman.

For secretary of state—Lewis Greene Stevenson.

For auditor of public accounts—James J. Brady.

For state treasurer—Arthur W. Charles.

For attorney general—Patrick J. Lucey.

For congressmen-at-large—William Elza Williams and Joseph O. Kostner.

There was more than one echo of the defeat of Roger C. Sullivan, two years earlier, in the 1916 campaign and indications that the party was not as united as it should have been.

Governor Dunne, however, made a fairly good race, losing to Lowden by only 139,881 plurality.

Woodrow Wilson lost the state to Hughes to 202,320.

Lewis Greene Stevenson led his ticket that year, being beaten by Louis L. Emmerson for secretary of state by 60,974 votes.

All the other Democratic nominees were defeated, including William Elza Williams, of Pittsfield, who had survived the slaughter of 1914, but who could not stem the tide of Republican victory in Illinois two years later.

Thus Frank O. Lowden became World War governor of Illinois.

### STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Arthur W. Charles, of Carmi, was chairman, and Isaac B. Craig, of Mattoon, secretary of the state central committee, in Chicago of the 1916 Wilson-Dunne campaign.

By districts, the members were:

- 1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.
- 2—Martin J. Moran, Chicago.
- 3—Terence F. Moran, Chicago.
- 4—Michael J. Donkin, Chicago.
- 5—Barth P. Collins, Chicago.
- 6—Stephen D. Griffin, Chicago.
- 7—James Furlong, Chicago.
- 8—Edmond B. Lynch, Chicago.
- 9—Edward L. Mulchay, Chicago.
- 10—Thomas J. Dawson, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—William P. McNamara, La Salle.
- 13—Douglas Pattison, Freeport.
- 14—John W. Williams, Carthage.
- 15—Hiram N. Wheeler, Quincy.
- 16—James M. Daugherty, Chillicothe.
- 17—Martin A. Brennan, Bloomington.
- 18—William Ryan, Jr., Danville.
- 19—Isaac B. Craig, Mattoon.
- 20—James McNabb, Carrollton.
- 21—William Clark, Palmer.
- 22—Jerry J. Kane, East St. Louis.
- 23—William John, Carlyle.
- 24—Arthur W. Charles, Carmi.
- 25—Edward M. Spiller, Marion.

## **JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS MEETS FIRST DEFEAT IN YEAR OF GREAT WORLD WAR**

James Hamilton Lewis, victor of many an earlier battle in this and other states, was compelled to bow to defeat in November, 1918.

Our nation then was in the throes of the great war drama, and our entry into that conflict had alienated many Democrats of German-American blood—and who did not return to the ranks of the Illinois Democracy for years thereafter.

The general election that year, was held less than a week before armistice was declared.

If that armistice had come a few days earlier, the result might have been different—although this is to be doubted.

At that, though, Lewis made a gallant fight in his race for re-election as United States Senator, losing to Medill McCormick, the Republican primary nominee, by only 53,024 votes.

The other Democratic nominees, that year, lost by pluralities ranging between 140,000 and 155,000.

They were:

For state treasurer—James J. Brady.

For superintendent of public instruction—Edwin Straus.

For congressmen-at-large—William Elza Williams and Michael H. Cleary.

### **THE 1918 MANAGING COMMITTEE**

Ernest Hoover, of Taylorville, was chairman of the state central committee in the 1918 campaign, with Isaac B. Craig, of Mattoon, secretary.

The full membership, by districts, was:

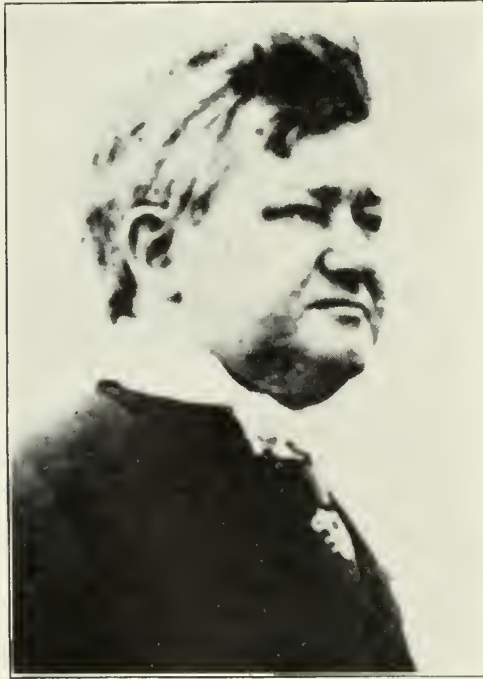
1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.

2—James Joseph Kelly, Chicago.

- 3—Terence F. Moran, Chicago.
- 4—Michael J. Donkin, Chicago.
- 5—Barth P. Collins, Chicago.
- 6—Stephen D. Griffin, Chicago.
- 7—William Kells, Chicago.
- 8—James O'Connor, Chicago.
- 9—Edward L. Muleahy, Chicago.
- 10—John P. Dougherty, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—William F. McNamara, La Salle.
- 13—Douglas Pattison, Freeport.
- 14—Ira J. O'Hara, Macomb.
- 15—Jackson R. Pearce, Quincy.
- 16—James M. Daugherty, Chillicothe.
- 17—T. F. Clinton, Bloomington.
- 18—James Dwyer, Danville.
- 19—Isaac B. Craig, Mattoon.
- 20—Charles R. Barnes, Nebo.
- 21—Ernest Hoover, Taylorville.
- 22—Jerry J. Kane, East St. Louis.
- 23—George W. Fithian, Newton.
- 24—Val. B. Campblee, McLeansboro.
- 25—Reed Green, Cairo.







JOHN C. EASTMAN

## **CAMPAIGN IN WHICH BOTH FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AND SENATOR LEWIS MET DEFEAT**

Encouraged by the excellent showing which the then Former Senator James Hamilton Lewis had made under decidedly discouraging conditions two years earlier, the Illinois Democracy in 1920, drafted that brilliant statesman as its nominee for the governorship.

Len Small of Kankakee, had won the Republican nomination for that office, when Frank O. Lowden had preferred to take chances against General Leonard Wood for the presidential nomination—both of them to be beaten, later, in the Chicago Republican national convention, by Warren G. Harding.

That was the year of the Cox-Harding fight which resulted in a Harding landslide.

### **ROOSEVELT ON TICKET**

Governor James B. Cox, of Ohio, presidential nominee, that year had as his running mate, none other than Franklin Delano Roosevelt, of New York—now president of the United States, and the most popular figure in all the world.

But, that November, Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge carried Illinois over Cox and Roosevelt, by a plurality of 886,085.

James Hamilton Lewis, as usual, ran far ahead of his ticket, losing to Len Small by only 511,577 plurality—big enough it is true, but a much better showing than that made by any other of the many fine Democrats on the ticket.

### **DEMOCRATIC STATE TICKET OF 1920**

Full ticket of the Illinois Democracy that year was:

For United States senator—Peter A. Waller.

For governor—James Hamilton Lewis.

For lieutenant governor—Walter W. Williams.

For secretary of state—Arthur W. Charles.

For auditor of public accounts—James J. Brady.  
For state treasurer—William Ryan, Jr.  
For attorney general—James T. Burns.  
For clerk of supreme court—George F. Johnson.  
For congressmen-at-large—William Murphy, and C. S. Schneider.

### MANAGING COMMITTEE OF 1920

But few changes, from two years earlier, were recorded in the make-up of the Democratic state central committee, for the Cox-Lewis campaign.

By districts, the members were:

- 1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.
- 2—James Joseph Kelly, Chicago.
- 3—Terence F. Moran, Chicago.
- 4—L. O. J. Mulford, Chicago.
- 5—Barth P. Collins, Chicago.
- 6—Stephen D. Griffin, Chicago.
- 7—William Kells, Chicago.
- 8—Michael Palise, Chicago.
- 9—Edward L. Muleahy, Chicago.
- 10—John P. Dougherty, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—Peter E. Coleman, La Salle.
- 13—Douglas Pattison, Freeport.
- 14—Ira J. O'Hara, Macomb.
- 15—Jackson R. Pearce, Quincy.
- 16—Thomas F. O'Connor, Peoria.
- 17—Ernest Smith, Lincoln.
- 18—James H. Elliott, Danville.
- 19—Isaac B. Craig, Mattoon.
- 20—James McNabb, Carrollton.
- 21—Ernest Hoover, Taylorville.
- 22—Jerry J. Kane, East St. Louis.
- 23—George W. Fithian, Newton.
- 24—Val. B. Campbell, McLeansboro.
- 25—Reed Green, Cairo.

## **BATTLING PETER BARTZEN HEADED 1922 TICKET BUT ALL WENT DOWN TO DEFEAT**

The 1920 Harding landslide was of such huge proportions that the Illinois Democracy found it somewhat difficult in 1922 to get candidates for a campaign that appeared doomed in advance.

That famous old Democrat of Cook county, Peter Bartzen, was the primary nominee for state treasurer.

The ticket that year was:

For state treasurer—Peter Bartzen.

For superintendent of public instruction—James A. Murphy.

For congressmen-at-large—William Murphy and Simon J. Gorman.

For the short term for congressman-at-large, the Democrats nominated one of the best-known of Central Illinois leaders, a big figure in Rotarian circles, Allen D. Albert, of Paris.

The vote in that off-year campaign was larger than generally had been anticipated, and the Democratic nominees lost out by pluralities approximating 225,000.

### **DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

The personnel of the state central committee virtually was unchanged from that of two years earlier.



## **POPULAR DOWNSTATE MEMBER OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY IS BEATEN**

The irony of politics seldom was more clearly shown than in the defeat of Norman L. Jones, of Carrollton, now chief justice of the state supreme court, by Len Small, of Kankakee, in the campaign that ended on Tuesday, November 4, 1924.

There was little doubt that, at that time, Norman L. Jones was one of the most popular of downstate Democrats—perhaps the most popular of all.

As against this, Len Small's first term as governor had been replete with scandals involving interest on state funds, during his prior term as treasurer.

The feeling against the governor, even in his own party, then was so pronounced that, if Warren G. Harding had not died and had been renominated—as he probably would have been—Judge Norman Jones would have been elected.

But President Harding had died in San Francisco, and Calvin Coolidge had become his successor, and the nominee of his party.

The “Keep Cool With Coolidge” sentiment was at its height.

### **STRINGER'S SIGNIFICANT SPEECH**

The Jones campaign, that year, opened at Lincoln, with that fine figure of the Illinois Democracy, who, himself, had been the victim of a landslide twenty years earlier, Judge Lawrence B. Stringer, the presiding officer.

“If the best man won in every election, there would be no doubt about Norman L. Jones being the next governor, but I am too old a bird not to know that the best man does not always win,” said Judge Stringer in introducing the gubernatorial nominee.

Judge Jones fought a splendid battle, and drew much Republican



support, but the result is best shown by the official figures of the Illinois voting:

For president—Calvin Coolidge (Republican).....	1,453,321
John W. Davis (Democrat).....	576,975
For U. S. senator—Charles S. Deneen (Republican).....	1,449,180
Albert A. Sprague (Democrat).....	806,702
For governor—Len Small (Republican).....	1,336,436
Norman L. Jones (Democrat).....	1,021,408
For lieutenant governor—Fred A. Sterling (Republican).....	1,502,517
Ferdinand A. Garesche (Democrat).....	722,390
For secretary of state—Louis L. Emmerson (Republican).....	1,578,456
Andrew Olson (Democrat).....	655,100
For auditor of public accounts—Oscar Nelson (Rep.).....	1,511,830
Edward J. Hughes (Democrat).....	688,603
For state treasurer—Omar Custer (Republican).....	1,498,925
John C. Martin (Democrat).....	693,658
For attorney general—Oscar E. Carlstrom (Republican).....	1,474,602
Thomas F. Donovan (Democrat).....	755,223

Illinois Democrats that year nominated a talented woman, Mary Ward Hart, as one of their nominees for congressmen-at-large.

The other Democratic nominee was Allen D. Albert.

Both, of course, were beaten.

### MANY NOTABLES LOST

Thus, it will be seen that in that 1924 fight, Norman L. Jones, while running nearly half a million votes ahead of the presidential standard bearer, could not resist the Calvin Coolidge landslide.

Nor could those other fine figures of the Illinois Democracy—Andrew Olson, of Moline; Edward J. Hughes, of Chicago; Albert A. Sprague, of Chicago; Ferdinand A. Garesche, of Madison; Thomas F. Donovan, of Joliet; and John C. Martin, of Salem.

All of these, like that year's defeated candidate for governor, now are filling important public offices with marked ability.

### LA FOLLETTE A CANDIDATE

The elder Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, also was a presidential aspirant that year.

Running on the Progressive ticket, he received the votes of 432,027 Illinois citizens.

### **STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Stephen D. Griffin, of Chicago, was chairman, Charles P. Power, of Cantrall, secretary, and Val B. Campbell, of McLeansboro, treasurer, of the 1924 Democratic state central committee.

Members by congressional districts were:

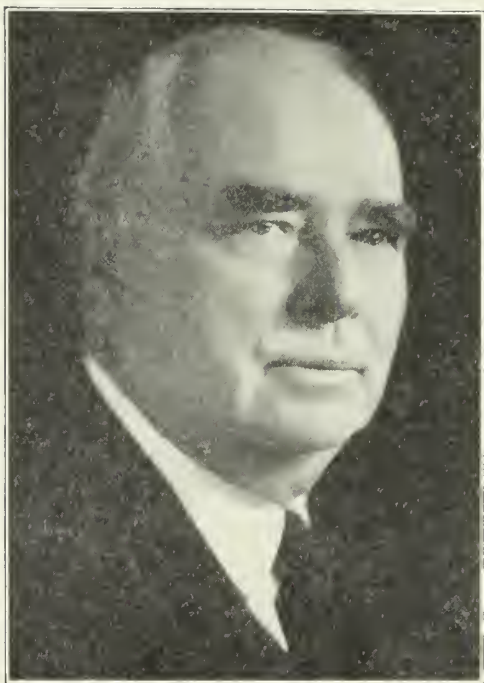
- 1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.
- 2—James J. Kelly, Chicago.
- 3—Terence F. Moran, Chicago.
- 4—Patrick G. McGuire, Chicago.
- 5—Barth P. Collins, Chicago.
- 6—Stephen D. Griffin, Chicago.
- 7—William Kells, Chicago.
- 8—Albert A. Bock, Chicago.
- 9—Arthur Donoghue, Chicago.
- 10—John P. Dougherty, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—P. E. Coleman, La Salle.
- 13—Robert B. Mitchell, Freeport.
- 14—Ernest O. Reaugh, Carthage.
- 15—Edward P. Allen, Quincy.
- 16—William J. Reardon, Pekin.
- 17—C. E. Smith, Lincoln.
- 18—James H. Elliott, Danville.
- 19—Isaac B. Craig, Mattoon.
- 20—James McNabb, Carrollton.
- 21—Charles P. Power, Cantrall.
- 22—Jerry J. Kane, East St. Louis.
- 23—Boyce E. Powell, Newton.
- 24—Val B. Campbell, McLeansboro.
- 25—Reed Green, Cairo.

### **VETERAN COMMITTEEMAN DIES**

Isaac B. Craig, of Mattoon, so long a member of the Democratic state central committee, and many years its secretary, died before the expiration of his term.







GEORGE E. BRENNAN

## **WELL LOVED LEADER OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY LOSES CLOSE RACE FOR SENATE**

With the death of Roger C. Sullivan on April 14, 1920, George E. Brennan of Chicago, who long had been one of his chief lieutenants, became the recognized leader of the organization forces in the Illinois Democracy.

He proved himself one of the most capable of the many distinguished Democrats who have filled the important position of national committeeman from Illinois.

If being well liked by virtually everyone with whom he came in contact, may be classed as one of the elements of greatness, then George E. Brennan certainly may be counted as a really great man.

But, like everyone to whom the designation "Political Boss" has been applied, George E. Brennan followed the usual rule of being condemned in life by many who extolled him in death.

It has been said that no matter how great a hold a "political boss" may have on the rank and file, he never should seek office himself, for, in nearly every instance, no matter how well fitted he may be, he is likely to meet defeat.

Roger C. Sullivan found it that way in 1914.

His successor found it that way in 1926.

The exception to the rule was Anton J. Cermak, that large figure of the Chicago Democracy, who, in the closing years of his eventful life, was able to combine the position of "political boss" with that of being a successful candidate for high public office.

## **BRENNAN SEEKS SENATORSHIP**

In 1926, George E. Brennan was the primary nominee for United States Senator against Frank L. Smith, of Dwight, who had defeated William B. McKinley for the Republican nomination.



As chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission, Smith had been seriously involved in connection with alleged campaign contributions by Samuel Insull.

The revelations were a real newspaper sensation for many weeks, and the chances for Brennan's election appeared decidedly bright.

He visited nearly every part of the state and his engaging personality won him many supporters.

But, just as Brennan's candidacy appeared the brightest, an independent candidate entered the race in the person of Hugh S. Magill, of Princeton.

Magill was a brilliant man and well-fitted for the proud position he sought.

But it was obvious to close observers from the beginning, that he had virtually no chance of finishing better than third in the race.

Magill took many votes—votes that might not have been cast for Brennan, but votes which certainly would not have been cast for Smith.

The official result, that November was :

Frank L. Smith.....	842,273
George E. Brennan.....	774,843
Hugh S. Magill.....	156,245

Thus another great Illinois Democrat went down to defeat.

Smith's victory was a hollow one.

The United States Senate refused to seat him.

He sought vindication in subsequent campaigns, and was successful to the extent that he was one of the Republican nominees for congressman-at-large in 1930.

But in that year of the Lewis high tide, he finished last of the four serious contenders, William H. Dieterich, Democrat, and Richard Yates, Republican, being the winning candidates.

## **BRILLIANT YOUNG JURIST GOES DOWN TO DEFEAT IN HOOVER 1928 LANDSLIDE**

The Illinois Democracy again turned to the bench for its gubernatorial candidate in election of 1928.

Floyd E. Thompson, of Rock Island, but now of Chicago, with a brilliant record of victories to his credit, and who had been said to have been "the youngest chief justice in the United States" was a prime favorite with the downstate Democracy, and was urged by many thousands to enter the race for state executive.

Consenting, he resigned from the supreme bench to which he repeatedly had been elected from a district usually heavily Republican.

The Illinois Democracy, that year, named a particularly strong ticket, as follows:

For United States senator—Anton J. Cermak, of Chicago.

For governor—Floyd E. Thompson, of Rock Island.

For lieutenant governor—Peter A. Waller, of Kewanee.

For secretary of state—William D. Meyerling, of Chicago.

For auditor of public accounts—George F. Sebring, of Joliet.

For state treasurer—George W. Alschuler, of Aurora.

For attorney general—Thomas J. Courtney, of Chicago, now the well-commended state's attorney of Cook county.

But that was the year of the Smith-Hoover presidential fight, with all of its accompaniments of bigotry and what not.

A gallant fight was waged and many huge meetings were held.

Especially large were the crowds that greeted the "Happy Warrior" in his Chicago and Springfield appearances, while the campaign closed with a great mass meeting at the state arsenal in Springfield, with Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, vice-presidential nominee, sharing the honors with Floyd Thompson and his fellow Democratic candidates.

**THE SAME OLD STORY**

But, it was the same old story, although one to be totally rewritten two and four and six years later.

Hoover and Curtis carried the state over Smith and Robinson by a plurality of 455,324, and the handicap was too much for all the candidates of the Illinois Democracy.

Floyd E. Thompson lost by 424,921 votes, and Louis L. Emmerson was governor.

Anton J. Cermak polled the highest number of ballots of any Democratic nominee, 1,315,338, but lost to Otis F. Glenn by 278,693 plurality.

William D. Meyerling came the closest of any to victory, however, losing to William J. Stratton by 269,095 votes.

All the other Democratic nominees, including Charles F. Brown and C. D. Joplin for congressmen-at-large, met the usual fate of candidates on "the other ticket" in landslide years.

Perhaps if Alfred E. Smith had won that year, instead of Herbert Hoover, the great economic crisis that came later might have been averted.

Who knows! At any rate, a whole lot of folks think so, and they are not all Democrats either.

Floyd E. Thompson now is one of the most successful attorneys of Chicago.

**STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

In the 1928 fight to elect Alfred E. Smith president, and Floyd E. Thompson governor, campaign headquarters were maintained at the Hotel Sherman, under the direction of that very capable veteran of the Illinois Democracy, Thomas F. Donovan.

J. Earl Honston, of Peoria, who recently was called beyond the shadows, was secretary.

By congressional districts, the members were:

- 1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.
- 2—James J. Kelly, Chicago.
- 3—David M. Hickey, Chicago.
- 4—Patrick G. McGuire, Chicago.

- 5—Barth P. Collins, Chicago.
- 6—Peter M. Kelly, Chicago.
- 7—William Kells, Chicago.
- 8—Albert A. Bock, Chicago.
- 9—Edward L. Mulcahy, Chicago.
- 10—John P. Dougherty, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—Peter E. Coleman, La Salle.
- 13—Robert B. Mitchell, Freeport.
- 14—Willard A. Schaeffer, Rock Island.
- 15—Edward P. Allen, Quincy.
- 16—J. E. Houston, Peoria.
- 17—P. D. Maxwell, Lincoln.
- 18—O. D. Mann, Danville.
- 19—John W. Yantis, Shelbyville.
- 20—James McNabb, Carrollton.
- 21—Charles P. Power, Cantrall.
- 22—Jerry J. Kane, East St. Louis.
- 23—Edgar F. Fyke, Centralia.
- 24—Arthur W. Charles, Carmi.
- 25—Harry Holland, Marion.









WILLIAM H. DIETERICH

## **THE CAMPAIGN THAT BROUGHT ALL-TIME MARGIN OF VICTORY TO THE ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY**

No other nominee of the Illinois Democracy for an office to be voted on by the people of our state, ever has achieved a plurality of the vast proportions obtained by James Hamilton Lewis in the campaign that sent him back to the United States Senate—the first Illinois Democrat to occupy a seat in that august body since he, himself, had left it in 1918.

The Lewis plurality of 744,747 votes over Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick, in the November election of 1930, had not been approached by any Democratic nominee, either for national or state office, before that time.

Nor has it since been reached.

It is the more noteworthy because it was accomplished in a so-called off year with the aggregate of ballots cast by all parties much less than is rolled up in campaigns when a presidency is at stake.

Perhaps, figuratively speaking, a presidency was at stake in that 1930 struggle, for, since then, not a single Democratic nominee for state or national office has failed to carry Illinois; whereas, not a single one of the many worthy Democratic nominees had carried Illinois on national or state ticket since Woodrow Wilson and Edward F. Dunne and his associate candidates had done so in November, 1912.

The Lewis campaign of 1930 was the turning point.

### **NOT AUSPICIOUS AT START**

Nor can any well-informed commentator contend that, at the start of that campaign, the conditions were at all propitious for the Democratic victory that followed.

At the primary election of April 8, that year, Illinois Republicans

had rolled up the impressive aggregate of 1,410,535 ballots in their senatorial struggle, against a scant 327,311 recorded on the Democratic side.

In the general election of 1928 the tremendously popular Alfred E. Smith had lost Illinois to Herbert Hoover by a margin of 455,324 votes.

That fine and magnetic nominee, Former Chief Justice Floyd E. Thompson, had gone down to defeat at the hands of Louis L. Emmerson by a plurality of 424,921—the first and only political battle that the gallant young Democrat ever had lost.

But, most impressive of all, in that same general election of November, 1928, Ruth Hanna McCormick had shown her popularity with the voters by running far ahead both of the Republican presidential and gubernatorial nominees, achieving a plurality of 540,131 votes—nearly an eighth of a million more than that of Emmerson.

Then, too, her victory over the veteran Charles S. Duncan in the Republican primary, had been of the smashing variety, the official figures showing:

McCormick .....	714,505
Deneen .....	496,261
Jenkins .....	161,261
Wisler .....	19,778
McPherson .....	18,582
<hr/>	
Total.....	1,410,538

On the other side of the political fence the primary figures had been:

Lewis .....	247,420
Monroe .....	24,390
Kirby .....	23,014
Warner .....	19,619
Beach .....	12,868
<hr/>	
Total.....	327,311

So that, while the primary figures were convincing of Lewis' popu-

larity in his own party, they offered no indication that, at best, his battle could be other than an uphill one.

### **“LET’S DO EVERYTHING DIFFERENT”**

“Let’s do everything different this year, dear old friend!” was the senatorial nominee’s injunction, early in the campaign, to the writer of this history, who had been designated as chairman of the publicity division of the state central committee, and as personal publicity manager for the senatorial nominee.

And, so far as possible, we did do everything different!

The usual voluminous “Year Book” that had characterized many campaigns was eschewed.

So were all lengthy pamphlets.

Everything in the line of publicity was of the short, crisp order, that could be fully absorbed almost before the reader could know it.

Chairmen of several Democratic county committees early wrote in for the biographical sketches of nominees which, heretofore, had been regarded as a prime essential of every campaign, not only in Illinois, but throughout the country.

“If they won’t vote for us without a document of self-praise, they are not likely to do so with one. We may be forced to get out a pamphlet of that sort later, but not if we can avoid it,” was the senatorial nominee’s comment.

And no biographical booklet ever was issued in that “altogether different” campaign of 1930.

### **STATE-WIDE CAMPAIGN OPENING**

Another innovation, decided on at a special meeting of the state central committee at the St. Nicholas Hotel in Springfield early that September was that, so far as possible, the campaign would be formally opened in every part of the state on the same day.

September 11, then barely a week away, was decided on as the day for this state-wide opening.

The choosing of this particular date largely was due to the fact that it was to be Democratic Day at the Morgan county fair, and party leaders of that district were very anxious to have the Senator and his fellow nominees as the main drawing cards.

So, on September 11, 1930, meetings formally opening the Democratic campaign were held in nearly every congressional district outside of Cook county, with the congressional nominees as the main speakers, except at Jacksonville and Shelbyville, where the respective afternoon and evening gatherings were addressed by James Hamilton Lewis, William H. Dieterich, Edward J. Barrett, and Mrs. Eva Batterton.

The crowds both at Jacksonville and Shelbyville were very large and decidedly enthusiastic.

### **SOME DRYs WERE AFRAID**

James Hamilton Lewis' earlier utterances in that campaign had included a clear-cut advocacy of repeal of the Volstead Act, and of the 18th amendment.

The state convention at Springfield in April, had embodied like plain-spoken policy.

Some excellent Illinois Democrats of dry persuasion had been quite alarmed at this.

Hence, when the writer visited Jacksonville, in connection with his publicity duties, a few days before the formal opening, he was called on by several prominent women with the request that he ask the senatorial nominee to "put the soft pedal" on any wet allusions, so far as the Jacksonville meeting was concerned.

"It will do the state ticket no good, and it may defeat Henry T. Rainey for re-election to congress," was the way the principal spokeswoman put it—and she was one of the best loved Democrats of the county and a great admirer of James Hamilton Lewis.

The writer only could promise that he would lay the matter before the senator in advance of the meeting.

### **CHARACTERISTIC OF THE MAN**

When this was done, the Lewis reply was characteristic of the man:

"Tell the dear lady that we regret that we cannot comply with her request as, in our candidacy, we are not going to be for one thing in one county and for something different in another. We are going

to run on the same principles in Cook and in every other section, and this, regardless of whether it carries us on to victory or to defeat!"

Addresses by each of the Democratic nominees were vigorously applauded that afternoon, but it especially was interesting to note that the greatest volume of all came when Senator Lewis gave utterance to his advocacy of repeal.

The lady, who had been so afraid, noted this, too, and she was sportsmanlike enough frankly to admit it to the writer after the meeting.

### **GREAT CROWDS GREET COLONEL**

Colonel Lewis carried his message from one end of the state to the other, returning to Chicago at nearly every week-end, for a Sunday conference with William L. O'Connell and other close advisors.

From the very start, big crowds greeted his every appearance and, before the earlier weeks of the campaign had passed, the demand for meetings was so great that it was decided to split the tour into two itineraries, with Lewis and some of the other nominees journeying into one part of the state, and William H. Dieterich, the nominee for congressman at large, who already was proving quite an oratorical attraction, heading the other division.

In the larger cities, such as Peoria, Springfield, Bloomington, and East St. Louis, this split arrangement would be temporarily set aside and Lewis, Dieterich, and the other nominees would speak at the same meeting.

A feature of the campaign worthy not only of note, but of remembrance, was its courteously cheerful and cheerfully courteous character throughout.

In earlier campaigns, and justifiably so, Illinois Democratic nominees dynamically, and sometimes vitriolically, had made serious charges against their Republican opponents.

But in this regard, too, the Lewis canvass of the state was altogether different.

If the weakness of Mrs. McCormick's position on the liquor and other questions were pointed out, always it was done with kindly polite-



ness and usually tempered with humorous stories that started the crowds to laughter, and then to applause.

The senatorial nominee seldom mentioned his opponent by name—nearly always his allusion was to “the lady.”

### **THAT WORLD COURT ISSUE**

As the campaign progressed, there were unmistakable signs of a rising tide of sentiment for Lewis, an ebbing tide for Mrs. McCormick.

In an effort to check this tide, the Republican nominee and other speakers in her behalf tried hard to raise the “World Court” issue—the one in which she had beaten Senator Deneen in the primary—and went to lengths hardly short of ridiculous to persuade the voters that Lewis not only was for the World Court, but for the League of Nations.

In a statement issued in connection with a big afternoon rally at Lincoln, the Democratic nominee neatly and emphatically turned the tables on “the lady” and the World Court issue, as General Hugh Johnson might say, was “dead as a dodo.”

### **LAST DESPERATE CHARGE**

With the tide rising more and more against “the lady” and reaching crestlike proportions, Mrs. McCormick, as a last desperate step, made the charge that Lewis was “Bill” Thompson’s candidate and had entered into an alliance with the then mayor of Chicago.

For several days Colonel Lewis declined to dignify this charge by answering it.

Downstate county chairmen doubted the wisdom of this attitude, and many telegrams were sent to the writer, at Springfield, advising that it would be harmful to continue to ignore the matter.

When Senator Lewis finally decided to make answer—and that answer like so many other of his campaign utterances, was entirely impromptu—it was at a great rally in Chicago.

“Am I to blame, because the mayor has left the lady waiting at the church?” he said, and the laughter and applause that followed lasted for many minutes.

### **SOME NOTABLE FEATURES**

Among many notable features of that decidedly notable campaign were:

The return of many thousands of German-American voters to the Democratic ranks—men and women who, in earlier years, had been counted in the ranks of the Illinois Democracy, but who had gone over to the opposition column when President Woodrow Wilson had carried our country into the World War.

The changed attitude of the press, not only the great metropolitan dailies, but those of many of the larger cities outside Chicago.

In the 1924 and 1928 campaigns, the lack of editorial support of the Democratic candidates had proven a tremendous handicap.

It was true that the Democracy had loyal and valuable cooperation from such great dailies as the Pindell papers in Peoria, the Illinois State Register in Springfield, the Decatur Review, and a number of dependable Democratic newspapers in smaller communities, while the influential Bloomington Pantagraph always had shown a disposition to be fair.

But, to every friendly newspaper in those campaigns, there had been six or seven decidedly unfriendly.

### CHICAGO NEWSPAPER SITUATION

The newspaper situation, in Chicago especially, had been discouraging.

The Chicago Tribune had been strong for Hoover and the Republican ticket generally, in 1928.

This was true, too, of the Chicago Daily News—although it had endorsed some Democratic nominees.

The Hearst newspapers, the Herald and Examiner, and the American, wielding much influence especially among Americans of foreign birth or parentage, had conducted particularly bitter fight against Alfred E. Smith and the Democratic nominees in the campaign that made Herbert Hoover president.

Nor was this situation much changed nor more encouraging, at the beginning of the Lewis campaign of 1930.

The Tribune, through family relationship, naturally was disposed to be for Ruth Hanna McCormick.

The Hearst papers, in their news columns at least, appeared more disposed to "play up" the McCormick candidacy than that of Lewis.

The Daily Times then was new, but none too friendly.

Nor was the situation much better downstate.

But with the passing weeks, this situation completely changed.

William Randolph Hearst, himself, had come to Chicago, for the "Recovery Week" program, which Mayor William Hale Thompson had arranged.

Leaving the city without completing his scheduled appearances, Mr. Hearst—always an admirer of Senator Lewis—from his special train, then at Omaha, had wired a personally signed editorial to the Sunday Herald and Examiner, and which ran through all editions of his newspapers the following day, extolling James Hamilton Lewis, and urging all Illinois voters to support him.

Many other newspapers, both in Chicago and downstate, including the great foreign language journals, one after the other, fell in line.

And, in their recommendations just before election, nearly every daily in Chicago was outspoken for Lewis and Dieterich.

Even the Tribune, while not advising the voters to cast their ballots for Lewis for senator, failed to recommend Mrs. McCormick for that office.

With the exception of Rockford, this largely was the situation downstate.

Nine days before the voting, the oldest newspaper in Illinois, and usually dependably Republican, the Illinois State Journal of Springfield, conceded the election of James Hamilton Lewis by a large plurality.

### **A DESIRABLE SITUATION**

This decidedly desirable newspaper situation has, in considerable measure, continued since that campaign.

It will be remembered that Henry Horner had the more or less active support of a large majority of the newspapers of Illinois, both Democratic and Republican, two years later.

This undoubtedly was a very material factor in the sweeping success of the whole Democratic ticket in November, 1932.

Let's hope it will continue, for no party can get very far, even in these days of radio, without friendly newspapers.

## TWO NEW FIGURES APPEAR

Two new and attractive figures in Illinois Democracy were brought to the front by the 1930 campaign.

Until then, Edward J. Barrett had been unknown to the great masses of Illinois Democrats.

Entering the primary against the organization and caucus-endorsed candidate, M. C. Zacharias of Chicago, Edward J. Barrett lost his own county of Cook by a vote of 93,258 for Mr. Zacharias, to 83,669 recorded for his youthful opponent.

But Barrett, in that April primary election, swept the downstate counties to the tune of 87,136 to 21,119—becoming the Democratic nominee for state treasurer with more than fifty thousand votes to spare.

The other Democrat to come to the front as a result of that campaign was John H. Stelle of McLeansboro, then already known throughout his own district as an organizer of unusual ability, but who, until then, had not become a state-wide figure.

Markedly popular among his fellow war veterans, John H. Stelle, with headquarters at Springfield, that year, brought together a formidable organization of former service men in behalf of the candidacies of Lewis and Dieterich and Barrett.

The two former had seen service in the Spanish-American war, while the nominee for state treasurer had been wounded while with his nation's forces in France.

The body of former service men thus organized proved a real factor for Democratic victory, not only in the campaign of 1930, but in those of 1932 and 1934.

## THAT RECORD PLURALITY

The official figures of the general election of November 4, 1930, were:

For United States Senator:

James Hamilton Lewis (Democrat), 1,432,216.

Ruth Hanna McCormick (Republican), 687,499.

Lottie Holman O'Neil (Independent), 99,485.

For the first time, perhaps, in Illinois history a Republican nom-

inee had received less votes in a general election than that same nominee had received in the primary!

For Mrs. McCormick's November figures were more than 27,000 votes shy of those recorded in her favor the previous April.

James Hamilton Lewis had been sent back to the United States Senate by 744,747 plurality!

A new era had dawned for the Illinois Democracy, and one that was to continue for years!

### DIETERICH'S FINE SHOWING

William H. Dieterich, of Beardstown, also had made fine showing. The vote for congressmen-at-large that year was:

William H. Dieterich (Democrat), 1,062,606.

Richard Yates (Republican), 991,083.

Walter Nesbit (Democrat), 975,422.

Frank L. Smith (Republican), 890,327.

Walter Nesbit, beaten by a slim margin, by the veteran former governor Richard Yates, undoubtedly lost as a result of interfactional fights between the coal miners, of which he was a leading official.

### CLOSE FIGHT FOR TREASURER

The fight for state treasurer also was close, but with the Democratic candidate the victor by a vote of:

Edward J. Barrett (Democrat), 1,039,938.

Clarence F. Buck (Republican), 965,017.

If Mrs. Batterton had been a man that year, in all likelihood she would have beaten the veteran Francis G. Blair, for superintendent of public instruction.

She made a fine race, but was under the handicap of so many voters still being reluctant to vote for a nominee of the feminine gender.

The vote was:

Francis G. Blair (Republican), 1,037,150.

Eva B. Batterton (Democrat), 953,464.

Thus ended the Democratic campaign of 1930—a campaign that had been “altogether different.”

**STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

That year's Democratic State Central Committee maintained its headquarters at the Hotel Sherman, Chicago.

Thomas F. Donovan, of Joliet, was chairman, and Edward P. Allen of Quincy, secretary.

Members by congressional districts were:

- 1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.
- 2—James J. Kelly, Chicago.
- 3—David M. Hickey, Chicago.
- 4—Patrick McGuire, Chicago.
- 5—Leo Slaski, Chicago.
- 6—Edward J. Upton, Chicago.
- 7—William Kells, Chicago.
- 8—Albert A. Bock, Chicago.
- 9—Edmond L. Muleahy, Chicago.
- 10—John P. Dougherty, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—John Hart, Ottawa.
- 13—Robert B. Mitchell, Freeport.
- 14—William A. Schaeffer, Rock Island.
- 15—Edward P. Allen, Quincy.
- 16—J. Earl Houston, Peoria.
- 17—C. E. Smith, Lincoln.
- 18—Norman Bennett, Marshall.
- 19—John W. Yantis, Shelbyville.
- 20—Buell Brake, Mount Sterling.
- 21—Walter T. Day, Springfield.
- 22—Maurice T. Joyce, East St. Louis.
- 23—Conrad Schul, Mount Vernon.
- 24—Arthur W. Charles, Carmi.
- 25—Harry Holland, Marion.





## ILLINOIS STATE CONVENTION THAT INTRODUCED GREAT CHICAGOAN TO DOWNSTATE

While Anton J. Cermak already was known to thousands of Democrats outside his own county of Cook, the Springfield Democratic state convention of 1932 may be said to have marked the formal introduction of that great Chicago leader to the downstate Democracy in his new garb, not only as mayor of our largest city, but as recognized chieftain of his party in Illinois.

Mayor Cermak made one of the principal speeches of that, one of the last of many historic gatherings to be held in the state arsenal, later to be consumed by flames.

The mayor made a fine impression and countless new friends.

Bruce A. Campbell, of Belleville, was chairman of the convention, with Michael L. Igoe heading the resolutions committee.

All the successful nominees of the recent primary were presented, as follows:

For United States Senator—William H. Dieterich, of Beardstown.

For congressmen at large—Martin A. Brennan, of Bloomington, and Walter Nesbit, of Belleville.

For governor—Henry Horner, of Chicago.

For lieutenant governor—Thomas F. Donovan, of Joliet.

For secretary of state—Edward J. Hughes, of Chicago.

For auditor of public accounts—Edward J. Barrett, of Chicago.

For state treasurer—John C. Martin, of Salem.

For attorney general—Otto Kerner, of River Forest.

For clerk of the supreme court—Adam F. Bloch, of Chicago.

All were victorious by great majorities at the election that followed on November 8, as were the candidates for trustees of the University of Illinois, nominated by the convention that day, and who were:

Dr. Karl A. Meyer, of Chicago.

Mrs. Nellie V. Freeman, of Mattoon.

O. M. Karraker, of Harrisburg.

### DELEGATES AT LARGE

Delegates at large to the national convention to meet in Chicago the following June were named as follows:

Henry T. Rainey, Carrollton.

Edward F. Dunne, Chicago.

Henry Horner, Chicago.

Melvin A. Traylor, Chicago.

Bruce A. Campbell, Belleville.

Michael L. Igoe, Chicago.

A. A. Sprague, Chicago.

William L. O'Connell, Chicago.

Charles Boeschenstein, Edwardsville.

Floyd E. Thompson, Evanston.

Mrs. Elizabeth A. Conkey, Chicago.

Robert M. Sweitzer, Chicago.

Stuyvesant Peabody, Chicago.

John P. Devine, Dixon.

Scott W. Lucas, Havana.

M. S. Symczak, Chicago.

Joseph Kehoe, Chicago.

Harry M. Fisher, Chicago.

Francis X. Busch, Chicago.

Mrs. Sarah Bond Hanley, Monmouth.

Roy D. Keehn, Lake Forest.

Charles Frey, Chicago.

Robert Carr, Chicago.

Ernest Kreutzen, Chicago.

Richard F. Kinsella, Springfield.

Thomas Sinnett, Rock Island.

Thomas J. Cody, Peoria.

Willis J. Spaulding, Springfield.

Joseph Fleming, Chicago.  
Al Carter, Murphysboro.  
Ben Alschuler, Aurora.  
Truman Snell, Carlinville.

### **ALTERNATES-AT-LARGE**

Alternates-at-large to the Chicago convention were named as follows:

Francis Wilson, Chicago.  
Charles A. Karch, East St. Louis.  
Janet Fairbank, Chicago.  
A. L. Granger, Kankakee.  
Charles McHatton, Mt. Sterling.  
Beatrice Walker O'Kane, Cairo.  
Charles J. Vopicka, Chicago.  
Blaine Hoffman, Lawrenceville.  
Ray McKeough, Chicago.  
Winifred G. McIntyre, Chicago.  
Hugh Murray, Carlyle.  
A. J. Sabbath, Chicago.  
Owen P. Thompson, Jacksonville.  
C. A. Wightman, Waukegan.  
Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago.  
Walter J. Cummings, Chicago.  
William Sexton, Chicago.  
William Meyering, Chicago.  
Mrs. Alfred Bergland, Galva.  
Walter Williams, Peoria.  
Mrs M. C. Shugure, Centralia.  
Clarence N. Woodwin, Lake Forest.  
William Worder, Marion.  
Phillip Sullivan, Chicago.  
Frank J. Burns, Kankakee.  
James Welch, Galesburg.  
Russell Whitman, Evanston.  
Albert Watson, Mt. Vernon.

L. F. Bonfoey, Quincy.  
Paul Colianni, Chicago.  
John P. Harding, Chicago.  
John J. Sonstebly, Chicago.

### DELEGATES FROM DISTRICTS

District delegates to the Chicago convention who had been nominated at the recent primary election were :

First district—Michael Kenna, Chicago; Joseph Tilttinger, Chicago.

Second district—James M. Whalen, Chicago; Edward J. Kelly, Chicago.

Third district—Peter B. Cavey, Chicago; Emmett Whealan, Chicago.

Fourth district—Joseph B. McDonough, Chicago; A. J. Cermak, Chicago.

Fifth district—Moe Rosenberg, Chicago; Joseph A. Gerhart, Chicago.

Sixth district—Albert J. Horan, Chicago; John Toman, Chicago.

Seventh district—P. A. Nash, Chicago; Clayton F. Smith, Chicago.

Eighth district—John J. Touhy, Chicago; Walter J. LaBuy, Chicago.

Ninth district—Joseph L. Gill, Chicago; Carter H. Harrison, Chicago.

Tenth district—J. Frank Lyman, Chicago; William Schlake, Chicago.

Eleventh district—J. Walter Lowrey, Joliet; Frank J. Wise, Joliet.

Twelfth district—Thomas J. Keenan, LaSalle; Leonard R. Condon, Rockford.

Thirteenth district—Frank T. Sheean, Galena; John B. Hayes, Rochelle.

Fourteenth district—T. L. Roark, Macomb; M. B. Welsh, Blainville.

Fifteenth district—W. Emery Lancaster, Quincy; Albert A. Hutmacker, Quincy.

Sixteenth district—John E. Cassidy, Peoria; Charles L. O'Brien, Peoria.

Seventeenth district—Frank A. Ortman, Peoria; Edward Fahey, Bloomington.

Eighteenth district—James Wyatt, Chrisman; James A. Meeks, Danville.

Nineteenth district—Craig Van Meter, Mattoon; James M. Allen, Decatur.

Twentieth district—William N. Hairgrove, Jacksonville; Will E. Burns, Virginia.

Twenty-first district—V. Y. Dallman, Springfield; James Hardie, Carlinville.

Twenty-second district—Joseph C. Faulstick, Alton; Robert L. Kern, Belleville.

Twenty-third district—Peter J. Kolb, Mt. Carmel; Arthur Roe, Vandalia.

Twenty-fourth district—Roland R. Cross, Dahlgren; Chauncey S. Conger, Carmi.

Twenty-fifth district—J. Riley Rankin, Sparta; John L. Levitt, Cairo.

### ALTERNATES BY DISTRICTS

Alternates, by districts to the Chicago convention also selected at the preceding primary election, were:

First district—Louis Levy, Chicago; John Budinger, Chicago.

Second district—Barnet Hodes, Chicago; Francis J. Loughran, Chicago.

Third district—Michael J. Flynn, Palos Park; Daniel P. Bergin, Chicago Heights.

Fourth district—William J. Lynch, Chicago; Michael Konkolewski, Chicago.

Fifth district—Henry Minsky, Chicago; John H. Luezak, Chicago.

Sixth district—Andrew T. Berg, Forest Park; Edward J. McCabe, Chicago.

Seventh district—Ning Eley, Des Plaines; P. J. Cullerton, Chicago.

Eighth district—Michael Rosinia, Chicago; Maurice F. Kavanagh, Chicago.



Ninth district—Mrs. George E. Brennan, Chicago; John M. O'Connor, Chicago.

Tenth district—Joseph H. Voss, Chicago; Philip J. Finnegan, Chicago.

Eleventh district—Martin R. O'Brien, Aurora; Peter W. Dittmeyer, Joliet.

Twelfth district—C. E. Hibbs, Grand Ridge; M. J. Charley, LaSalle.

Thirteenth district—Elwyn R. Shaw, Freeport; George Fruin, Dixon.

Fourteenth district—Nota McCormick Hutchins, Monmouth; Albert Salisbury, Carthage.

Fifteenth district—William A. Detrick, Abingdon; W. J. Smith, Quincy.

Sixteenth district—Harlow B. Brown, Princeton; Harry Ziegler, Henry.

Seventeenth district—Michael Malone, Gibson City; T. D. Karnes, Fairbury.

Eighteenth district—J. T. Musselman, Paris; H. L. Bernard, Clifton.

Nineteenth district—Dr. T. O. Freeman, Mattoon; John D. Eads, Arthur.

Twentieth district—Robert H. Garm, Beardstown; Edward Bowe, Jacksonville.

Twenty-first district—Joseph W. Rizzie, Staunton; Dennis Noonan, Morrisonville.

Twenty-second district—Harry E. Jackson, Waterloo; Lee Friend, Nashville.

Twenty-third district—Guy McGaughey, Lawrenceville; George E. Ray, Centralia.

Twenty-fourth district—O. M. McGhee, Metropolis; Dr. W. E. McGuire, Omaha.

Twenty-fifth district—H. B. Strawhun, Murphysboro; Robert Blaylock, Herrin.

**STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Prior to the calling to order of the convention, at the state arsenal, the State Central committee met at the St. Nicholas hotel and organized for the coming campaign by the election of the following officers:

For Chairman—Thomas F. Donovan, of Joliet, who had headed the committee for so many years.

For Treasurer—Patrick A. Nash, of Chicago.

For Secretary—Edward P. Allen, of Quincy.

The full roll of the committee as elected by districts at the primary, and which did such fine work in bringing victory in the campaign that ensued, was:

- 1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.
- 2—Daniel Sullivan, Chicago.
- 3—David M. Hickey, Chicago.
- 4—Patrick G. McGuire, Chicago.
- 5—Leo J. Slaski, Chicago.
- 6—Richard M. Sullivan, Chicago.
- 7—Joseph F. Higgins, Chicago.
- 8—Albert A. Bock, Chicago.
- 9—Edmond L. Mulcahy, Chicago.
- 10—Joseph P. Dougherty, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—John J. Hart—Ottawa.
- 13—Sherwood Dixon, Dixon.
- 14—J. C. Clendenin, Monmouth.
- 15—Edward P. Allen, Quincy.
- 16—J. Earl Houston, Peoria.
- 17—C. Everett Smith, Lincoln.
- 18—Norman Bennett, Marshall.
- 19—John W. Yantis, Shelbyville.
- 20—George O. Daab, Mt. Sterling.
- 21—Harry B. Hershey, Taylorville.
- 22—Manrice V. Joyce, East St. Louis.
- 23—John Kassermann, Newton.
- 24—James O'Neal, Fairfield.
- 25—Harry Holland, Marion.

**OLD TIME LOVE FEAST**

The convention, throughout, was of the old-time Democratic love feast variety, without a trace of bitterness from the primary election fight, in which such a fine ticket had been nominated, but in which so many splendid leaders of Illinois Democracy had gone down to defeat.

That's the Illinois Democratic way!





ANTON J. CERMAK

## **MAYOR CERMAK IS HOST AT IMPORTANT FUNCTION PRECEDING CONVENTION**

One of the most important, and certainly one of the most enjoyable functions of the Illinois Democracy in connection with the 1932 national convention, was the elaborate dinner given by Anton J. Cermak to the delegates and alternates from our state, and the press of Illinois at the Sherman hotel, the Sunday evening immediately preceding the convention, and coincidental with which a caucus of delegates was held.

The great Democratic mayor never appeared to larger advantage, nor in better mood, than he did that night.

Undismayed by the unexpected withdrawal of Senator Lewis from the presidential race, he had proceeded with other plans, and these plans included:

Endorsement of, and formal presentation of the candidacy of that lovable and now lamented Democrat of great parts, Melvin A. Traylor of Chicago, as Illinois' choice for president of the United States.

Endorsement of that splendid warhorse of Illinois Democracy, Bruce A. Campbell of Belleville, for vice-presidential nominee, in case the Traylor candidacy should not succeed.

These plans duly were carried out.

At that time, there was a run on the banks of Chicago, and that run had not excepted the two impregnable institutions then presided over by Mr. Traylor, the First National and the First Trust and Savings.

Detained by constant conferences in connection with the serious banking situation, he could not be present during the earlier part of the dinner, and it was doubted if he would be able to come at all.

But when, at a very late hour, he arrived, he was given real ovation and he had to yield to the insistent demands for a brief address.



### THAT CHERISHED WHIMSICAL SMILE

With the whimsical smile, the memory of which will always be cherished by those who knew "Mel" Traylor, he said:

"I always knew that the banks of which I am president had a great number of depositors, but never did I know until the last few days how large that number really was," as his audience broke into laughter at the allusion to the run on the banks.

Thanking the delegates who had endorsed him, but not otherwise mentioning his own candidacy, Mr. Traylor continued:

"I would rather see the party go down to defeat than to win on a demagogic platform appealing to class prejudice."

Urged by several members of the press, later, to amplify this statement, he declined to do so, but the utterance quite generally was interpreted at the time, as being none too friendly to the Roosevelt candidacy which, then, was considerably short of the requisite two-thirds of all the delegates.

### MAY HAVE COST HIM PORTFOLIO

Months later, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt had been elected, and the personnel of his cabinet was being considered, there was much mention of Melvin A. Traylor as a strong possibility for secretary of the treasury.

He had given loyal support to Roosevelt after the nomination, but there was intimation in some quarters that his brief address in the late hours of that Sunday night might have cost him a portfolio in the cabinet.

This, however, was mere deduction, although not altogether an illogical one.

Other action taken at the Democratic state caucus held incidental to the dinner included:

Election of Anton J. Cermak as national committeeman, and as chairman of the delegation, on motion of Michael L. Igoe of Chicago, retiring national committeeman.

Re-election of Mrs. Elizabeth Conkey of Chicago, as national committeewoman.

Naming of Illinois members to various convention committees, as follows:

Rules—John P. Devine, of Dixon, now speaker of the Illinois house of representatives.

Credentials—Scott W. Lucas, of Havana, now congressman in succession to the great Henry T. Rainey.

Permanent organization—W. Emery Lancaster, of Quincy, now head of the Illinois Civil Service commission.

Resolutions—Michael L. Igoe, of Chicago, now congressman at large from our state.

To notify presidential nominee—Charles Boeschenstein, of Edwardsville.

To notify vice-presidential nominee—Albert Carter, of Murphysboro.

Honorary officers of the convention—James A. Meeks, of Danville, and Emmett Whealan, of Chicago.

### **SOME NOTABLE CHAIRMEN**

Mayor Cermak, Michael L. Igoe, and Bruce A. Campbell, in turn, presided over the joint dinner and caucus, which went on record, despite all the tensivity of that and succeeding days, as “a veritable Jeffersonian love feast,” and one which went far in keeping solid the ranks of the Illinois Democracy in the national and state campaigns that followed.



## **PRINCIPAL ILLINOIS ROLE PLAYED AT 1932 CHICAGO CONVENTION WAS BY ABSENT PARTY LEADER**

As at full many another Democratic National gathering, the Illinois Democracy played large and important part at the greatest and most colorful convention thus far held by any political organization of our own or any other country—that which was called to order by John J. Raskob, retiring chairman of the Democratic national committee, on Monday, June 27, 1932, and the first act of which was to listen to a prayer by Evangeline Booth, then principal officer of the Salvation Army in the United States, but now the commander in chief of all the forces of that religious organization the world over.

Yes! The Illinois Democracy played a part in that historic assemblage hardly second to that of any other state!

But the Illinois Democrat acting the chief role in the tense drama of that hot summer week never was present in person.

Twenty-eight Democratic United States Senators were there, but the then lone Democratic senator from Illinois—James Hamilton Lewis—was not present, nor was any word received from him during the proceedings of the convention proper.

For James Hamilton Lewis had played his great role forty-eight hours before the convention met, and had he not played it, the outcome might have been altogether different and Alfred E. Smith or Albert Ritchie or some great statesman other than Franklin Delano Roosevelt, might have been chosen to lead the forces of Democracy on to victory the following November.

### **THEY DID NOT WANT HIM THEN!**

This is a Democratic volume written by one who never has been other than a Democrat.

But the author regards the chief function of a writer of history to be not the mere penning of eulogy, well justified as that eulogy may be, but the truthful recording of facts as they actually have occurred.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt now is the most popular personage in all the world, easily the best loved man that ever has occupied the presidential chair—not even excepting George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

And in no state is that popularity more pronounced than in Illinois.

But the truth is, that in June 1932, a considerable majority of the recognized leaders of the Illinois Democracy did not want Roosevelt.

A devoted band, largely from downstate, wanted him and wanted him badly; but the party organization, then under control of that heroic and, later, tragic figure, Anton J. Cermak, Mayor of Chicago, and now one of the nation's great martyrs, was active in the "Stop Roosevelt" movement.

If you should feel disposed to challenge the truth of this statement, please recall the vote of the Illinois delegation, not only on the earlier ballots for the nomination, itself, but on the many other tests that preceded that balloting.

Recall, too, please, that in the long, but none too boisterous demonstration which had followed Judge Mack's address placing Roosevelt in nomination, the banner of Illinois never once went into the parade, whereas it went in and was enthusiastically waved in the parades that followed the nominating addresses for Smith and Ritchie and others.

### **GALLERIES NOT FOR ROOSEVELT**

From the very beginning of the convention, Mr. Roosevelt undoubtedly had a considerable majority of the total number of the delegates with him—though not enough to nominate under the two-thirds rule.

But just as unquestionably, he did not have the galleries with him, as witness the joyous enthusiasm that greeted the every playing on that mighty organ of "The Sidewalks of New York" and "Maryland, My Maryland," and the unfailing outburst in every session, when Alfred Emmanuel Smith or Albert C. Ritchie put in an appearance.

If you still have doubts on the subject, and most convincing of all, remember the thousands of hisses—the largest volume of disapproval ever exhibited in any political convention—that greeted William Gibbs McAdoo's announcement on the Friday night of the joint action that had been taken during the recess by the California-Texas delegations; action that was to insure Franklin Delano Roosevelt becoming the next president of the United States, and John Nance Garner being the next vice-president.

The many thousands of Democrats from all over the land who were in the stadium that night, and who have not forgotten that the hostile demonstration refused to stop until Chairman Walsh, of necessity, called Mayor Cermak to the platform to calm the turbulent wave of disapproval, will not doubt that, much as those that were in those galleries love Roosevelt today, they loved others far better then.

### **GALLERIES WERE NOT PACKED**

It was asserted by some, at that time, that the galleries on that Friday night and at earlier sessions, had been "packed," as part of the "Stop Roosevelt" movement, but, coming from one who was present during every moment of the convention, and who was familiar not only with the vast demand for seats at every session, but with the methods pursued in meeting that demand, it very emphatically can be stated that there was no truth in that charge of "packed galleries."

Those galleries, naturally, largely were occupied by Democrats from Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and other states adjacent to the convention city.

They had obtained their tickets through the legitimate and ordinary channels.

Most of these had paid high prices for them—prices none too high, however, when the engrossing interest of the panorama is considered, and, while there were some complimentaries, there had been no discrimination between the various delegates in the handing out of these.

The galleries were not packed to "Stop Roosevelt," nor was it so much that they loved the latter the less, but that they loved Alfred E. Smith the more and, undoubtedly, they felt that the arrangements made outside of the convention hall and announced by Mr. McAdoo were



“not strictly according to Hoyle,” as the famous gentleman from California had been among those sitting at the conference board with Smith and Ritchie and Byrd, and managers of other candidacies other than that of Roosevelt.

### SENATOR LEWIS' TELEGRAM

But, returning to the pre-convention conditions as they affected the position of Illinois Democracy:

James Hamilton Lewis had been the only entrant for president in the Illinois Democratic primary election of the previous April.

In the face of the candidacy of so pronounced a favorite son, managers of Roosevelt, of Smith, and of all other candidates had thought it best to keep out of the primary race in our state.

The result was that of 591,552 votes cast for the Democratic presidential nomination in that primary, Senator Lewis had received 590,130, with Roosevelt, not formally entering, getting 1,084; Smith, also not an entrant, receiving 266, and the balance scattering.

Following this, nearly every Democratic county convention had given the Lewis candidacy enthusiastic endorsement.

Through an oversight, the state convention, in Springfield, had failed to insert a plank of similar character; but this unintentional omission had been rectified by unanimous action by the state central committee.

### A CANDIDATE TO BE RECKONED WITH

With James Hamilton Lewis having been elected United States senator only two years previous by an all-time record-breaking plurality, and with the national convention meeting in his home state and in his home city, his candidacy quite generally was regarded as one to be reckoned with—especially in case of a long-drawn-out deadlock such as many were anticipating.

Thousands of small, colored, and well-designed cards had been printed the week before, briefly setting forth some of the advantages that should come to the party in case Lewis were made the nominee.

These were ready for distribution throughout the convention the moment that the logical hour should strike.



But that hour never came!

Instead, on the Saturday immediately preceding the gathering, Senator Lewis, who had remained at Washington attending to his congressional duties, sent three telegrams identical in phraseology, announcing his withdrawal from the race, and releasing the Illinois delegation which had been instructed for him by the Democrats of Illinois in the primary election.

One of these telegrams was sent to Mayor Anton J. Cermak, chairman of the Illinois delegation.

Another had been sent to Honorable William L. O'Connell, of Chicago, the Lewis presidential campaign manager and his closest political advisor.

The wires came to these two out of a clear sky and, to express the exact words of one of the recipients, "they decided to sit on them."

In all likelihood, if only these two telegrams had been sent, release to the press would have been delayed, pending consultation with the senator over long-distance lines.

### **BUT THERE WAS A THIRD WIRE**

But, as previously stated, there was a third identical wire, and this had been sent to Vincent Y. Dallman, the talented editor of the *Illinois State Register* of Springfield, and had been addressed to him in that city.

Dallman was, and is, one of Senator Lewis' most dependable supporters, and one who had been intimately associated with him for decades.

There could be no question of Dallman's loyalty to the senator's candidacy, but he also had been one of the earliest and most enthusiastic of Roosevelt men.

From the first he had felt that, despite the undoubted qualifications of the favorite son of Illinois for the highest office within the gift of the people, it was almost certain that the convention would choose a younger man.

In all likelihood, too, Mr. Dallman had possessed the feeling that, in some quarters, the Lewis candidacy was being used as part of the "Stop Roosevelt" movement.

While there is no actual evidence on which to base the assumption, it is not unlikely that, in his enthusiasm for Roosevelt, Mr. Dallman had urged his distinguished friend to withdraw from the presidential race.

Be this as it may, the following interesting facts are shown by the record:

When the Lewis telegram of withdrawal, addressed to Dallman, arrived in Springfield, the editor was not in that city, but in Chicago, where he had gone, not only to "cover the convention" for his newspaper, but also as a delegate to that body from the twenty-first congressional district.

The telegram promptly was relayed to him at Chicago, and as promptly released by him, not only for publication by his own newspaper, but through the great press associations, to every daily newspaper in the United States.

That was the end of the Lewis presidential candidacy—a candidacy which, if it had been carried into the convention, might have caused the final annals of that great gathering to have read much differently than they do.

These are the reasons why it is so reasonable to believe that the principal role of the Illinois Democracy in the Chicago Democratic national convention of 1932 was played by a party leader who was many hundred miles away.

## **FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, ALFRED SMITH, WILL ROGERS AND HUEY LONG AMONG MANY HEADLINERS**

Franklin D. Roosevelt today could draw a crowd that would pack the largest auditorium in the United States at a few hours notice!

So could Alfred Emmanuel Smith!

So could the great American humorist of the universal appeal, Will Rogers, of Claremore, Oklahoma, and elsewhere!

Huey Long is no small kingfish in getting a big audience!

Nor John W. Davis, former ambassador, former presidential nominee, and recognized not only as one of the world's great orators, but as one of the world's great statesmen!

But, when these world notables were just a few of the outstanding attractions, and Albert Ritchie, Admiral Bird, Homer W. Commings, "Alfalfa" Bill Murray, "Amos and Andy," "Jimmie" Walker, then in the height of his fame, Anton J. Cermak, "Jim" Farley, Cordell Hull, Carter H. Glass, Joseph B. Ely, Henry Horner, James A. Reed, William G. McAdoo, and at least a score of others of the best known men in American public life, were on the bill presented, who is there with sufficient ability to attempt to adequately describe the ever increasing interest of that tremendous gathering?

The greatest names known to current newspaper fame were there, too, though not as platform performers.

Arthur W. Brisbane, Ruth Bryan Owen, Floyd Gibbons, Jack Lait, David Lawrence, Herbert L. Mencken, Father Coughlin, "Gene" Tunney—but why attempt to cover the list in those press galleries?

Just write down every name famous in the world of journalism of 1932, and you will not miss it very much!

That's the story of that greatest of all national conventions—the one presided over in turn—and so ably and so fairly—by Senator Allen W. Barkley, of Kentucky, and Senator Thomas Walsh, of Montana—

the latter so soon and so tragically to pass out of the ranks of that Democracy which he loved so well, and had served so well.

### THE MOST INTERESTING MOMENTS

“The most interesting moments of the convention?” you ask.

In the order of their happening, most witnesses probably will agree that they were:

The impromptu platform appearance of Will Rogers.

The struggle over the permanent chairmanship, not because the outcome ever had been in doubt, but because it gave first accurate indication of the Roosevelt strength.

The tremendous ovation to Alfred E. Smith—for whose appearance the crowd had been waiting for days—when he took the platform at the Wednesday night session to sound the death note of prohibition.

The grim tensivity of that all evening and all night session, with its three ballots running long past dawn of Friday, and during which the anti-Roosevelt forces, after first being beaten in their efforts to adjourn, had forced the Roosevelt followers to continue on when they wanted to take a recess till the following evening.

The dramatic announcement by Former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo of the deal that had been made between California and Texas, and which meant that the end of the drama had been written outside the walls of the Stadium.

The unprecedented flight of Franklin Roosevelt from his Hyde Park home to receive the nomination right in the convention hall.

The splendid tribute paid the nominee as he entered, and which went so far to smooth out all the many sore spots that had gone before.

The soulful eloquence with which, in his opening words, Franklin Roosevelt pledged himself “to the spiritual guidance of our dead commander-in-chief, Woodrow Wilson.”

The happenings of that great gathering are too contemporaneous, perhaps, to be classed as history at this early date.

But they will live in American history for all time, as they marked the beginning of not only a new and victorious era for the Democracy—but a new note in humanitarian administration for every man, woman and child in the United States.

## **MOST EXPERTS GAVE PALM FOR CONVENTION ORATORY TO MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNOR**

Nearly every Democratic national convention in history has had its outstanding orator, but in Chicago, at that June 1932 gathering, there was so much oratory of really great rank, that it was difficult to determine first honors.

Most of the recognized experts on public speaking, regardless of party proclivities or of favorites as between candidates, have been disposed to accord the palm to the address of Governor Joseph B. Ely of Massachusetts, placing Alfred E. Smith in nomination.

From the standpoint of delivery, at least, Governor Ely's appearance was magnificent, and his address, among other things, was notable for its seriously and splendidly uttered sequence of: "Look into your minds and vote!" "Look into your hearts and vote!" "Look into your conscience and vote!"

Paragraphs in which Governor Ely outlined Alfred E. Smith's proposed program may be read with much interest now, on account of the marked resemblance of most of the program then outlined to the program which President Roosevelt has followed during his administration.

### **A STRIKING RESEMBLANCE**

This resemblance may be especially noted in these sentences:

"No other man has this quality of leadership in any degree comparable with the modern Andrew Jackson. No man, whose name will be presented to this convention, possesses this quality of leadership comparable with Alfred E. Smith. So I say to you, "Look into your minds and vote."

"A short time ago, speaking to the Democracy at Washington, he (Smith) laid down a program to be followed by the nation. Boldly and



without equivocating he declared for a protracted moratorium in reference to the foreign debts which amounted to a reduction according to their purchases of our goods. It was a daring step for a man seeking national honors.

“Admitting its temporary possibilities and facing the criticism of conservative men, he spoke for an enhanced program of public works built upon the credit of the Federal Government.

“He gave emphatic approval of a plan to repeal the 18th amendment, and to establish immediately in the United States what would amount to a new industry by modifying the Volstead Act.

“A few days later, speaking over the radio from New York, he re-emphasized these things and declared against the payment of a bonus at this time. Where do you find in the names before this convention another man so utterly bold in his statements upon public questions that he disregards completely his political future? He thought that he threw that future into the political wastebasket, and he found it again in the hearts and minds of his countrymen.

“Fifteen million people were drawn to him in 1928, unswerving in their devotion in spite of all the political propaganda and personal attack directed against him. That storm has spent its fury. He has come through it still the “Happy Warrior.” From humble origin like Lincoln and Jackson, his whole public career attests his concept as expressed by him,—that the state is the men and the women and the children who make it up. There is no reason for him to speak of the forgotten man because with him no class of men or women or children is forgotten.

“The love and affection, the respect and response which pours out to him have their roots in no political machine, are fostered by no group of political leaders, are nurtured by no artificial propaganda, but lie imbedded deep in the universal affection and esteem of the millions of Americans of all classes and all conditions and all creeds. These men and women look up to him gladly, lovingly, and trustfully. He quiets their fears, represses rebellious thoughts and clarifies the fundamental principles of a great Democracy. And so I say to you, “Look in your hearts and vote.”

“In this battle with depression, in which by the lust for power and the greed for gold the force of economic laws has broken through the ramparts of our commercial security, there are two phases. The first finds us upon the defensive, struggling to stem the forces that push us back and drag us down.

“To make a stand is the first plan of this battle. The second is the rearrangement of economic and industrial conditions so that it may not be said again that we built an industrial machine which looked only to the present and never to the future; which was so greedy for profits that it forgot its own responsibility for those whose toil and labor created that wealth.

“In the second phase of this great battle, it will be necessary for us to set up an industrial machine which recognizes the necessity for a more equitable distribution of the profits.

“This defensive battle is a hand to hand conflict. Cultural attainments and polite amenities, or social distinction, or a play upon the meaning of words, are as useless in this emergency as nursery rhymes and fairy tales. To win this battle requires a man who can take the blows both physically and mentally without retreating a single inch and who, when he delivers them, must hit the mark. This is a pitched battle and no Fabian tactics will suffice.”

### **PART THAT WAS OMITTED**

Governor Ely's nominating address, as originally prepared, made marked allusion to the matter of religious intolerance in political campaigns but, as finally delivered to the convention, the following interesting section was omitted from the address:

“Timothy Dwight, President of Yale University, looked upon the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency of the United States as impossible because of his alleged religious beliefs—the orthodoxy of which has never been established.

“He said, ‘We may see our wives and daughters the victims of legal prostitution; soberly dishonored; speciously polluted; the outcasts of delicacy and virtue, the loathing of God and man.’

“Jefferson also ran once and lost. Has any man ever questioned the devotion of Thomas Jefferson to American principles? Did any



man ever do more for the upbuilding of the great Republic? Is the loyalty of a Catholic American to the United States and her principles to be challenged?

“I summarize my creed as an American Catholic.

“I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

“I recognize no power in the institutions of my Church to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land.

“I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all churches, all sects, and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor.

“I believe in the absolute separation of Church and State and in the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

“I believe that no tribunal of any church has any power to make any decree of any force in the law of the land, other than to establish the status of its own communicants within its own church.

“I believe in the support of the public school as one of the cornerstones of American liberty.

“I believe in the right of every parent to choose whether his child shall be educated in the public school or in a religious school supported by those of his own faith.

“I believe in the principle of non-interference by this country in the internal affairs of other nations and that we should stand steadfastly against any such interference by whomsoever it may be urged.

“And I believe in the common brotherhood of men under the common fatherhood of God.

“In this spirit I join with fellow Americans of all creeds in a fervent prayer that never again in this land will any public servant be challenged because of the faith in which he has tried to walk humbly with his God.”

“That is the creed of Alfred E. Smith. That is the creed to which he was born. That is the faith which his fathers gave him even as

some of you and I inherited ours. The logic of it I leave to you. We would be traitors to everything for which America stands who invoke the devil of religious intolerance to become our servant and helper, because it inevitably would turn upon us and become our master to undermine and destroy the very fine fabric of American freedom.”



## GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S ADDRESS ACCEPTING CALL TO LEADERSHIP

When, just before the breaking out of the wild conflict of the nations, in July 1914, an English magazine had asked Herbert Horatio Asquith, then prime minister of Great Britain, to list the 100 leading British orators of all time, the 100 leading American all-time orators and the 100 leading orators of other nations, Asquith, himself a great orator, placed in the second category, the names of three men who had closely been identified with the Illinois Democracy—Stephen A. Douglas, William Jennings Bryan and James Hamilton Lewis.

The latter inclusion, at so early a date, was the more remarkable because Senator Lewis then was only at the beginnings of that larger fame that since has come to him.

In the American list, at large, the name of Theodore Roosevelt was included, but not that of his cousin and namesake, now the leading figure in all the world.

Any such list, completed in later years, in all likelihood, would include the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, for, while our president never had laid claim to great oratorical ability, he undoubtedly possesses it, as witness that "Happy Warrior" speech at Houston, and many more recent addresses, the simple language of which, the charming voice, coupled with the democratic and ever-pleasing style of delivery, have endeared him to tens of millions of listeners.

His address, in response to the formal notification of his nomination, made by Chairman Thomas Walsh, was characteristic of the man.

Governor Roosevelt was smiling broadly as he walked into that seething Stadium where tens of thousands not only occupied every seat, but virtually every inch of available space.

With a red carnation in the lapel of his blue suit, and with the pencil which he had used in last-minute alterations of his address,

protruding from a coat pocket, leaning on his cane and on the arm of his stalwart son, James, he was escorted to the speaker's stand, by a committee which formed into two lines to enable him to pass to the rostrum which especially had been arranged for the occasion.

Included in the escort were Mayor Anton J. Cermak, William H. Dieterich, Henry Horner and Vincent Y. Dallman, of Illinois; John F. Curry, then head of Tammany; Governor Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia; Governor Albert Ritchie of Maryland, Senator Connally of Texas, James A. Farley of New York, and Mayor Curley of Boston—now governor of Massachusetts.

For more than fifteen minutes the nominee was compelled to remain standing between Mrs. Roosevelt and their towering son, again and again waving happy response to the enthusiastic greeting of that all-applauding multitude.

### **SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE**

Finally, when the applause had died down, he stepped forward, manuscript in hand, and quiet fell at last.

Delivering his words slowly, but with a clarity that carried them distinctly to every part of the huge auditorium, he brought a laugh right at the start, by his allusions to "the sleepless nights which both you and I have had during the last six arduous days."

Referring to the tradition that had been broken by his coming to the convention at once to accept the nomination, he asked that it be considered symbolic of his intention "to be honest and to avoid all hypocrisy and sham."

The way he firmly gripped the table in front of him, and that his powerful chest heaved as he emphasized points here and there, reminded one of the four years ago at Houston—but how different was the occasion! There he was nominating Alfred Emmanuel Smith.

Decrying radicalism, he called the Democratic party by tradition "the bearer of liberalism and of progress and at the same time of safety to our institutions."

### **CITES NEED OF LIBERAL THOUGHT**

At the same time that he invited Republicans to break away, he warned "those nominal Democrats who squint at the future with their

faces toward the past, and who feel no responsibility to the demands of the new time, that they are out of step with their party."

"Ours must be a party of liberal thought," he said, "of planned action, of enlightened international outlook, and of the greatest good to the greatest number of our citizens.

"Now it is inevitable—and the choice is that of the times—it is inevitable that the main issue of this campaign should resolve about the clear facts of our economic condition a depression so deep that it is without precedent in modern history. It will not do merely to state, as do Republican leaders, to explain that broken promises of continued inaction have resulted from the depression that is world wide. That was not their explanation of the apparent prosperity of 1928. The people will not forget the claim made by them of prosperity manufactured by a Republican president and a Republican congress. If they claim paternity for the one they cannot deny paternity for the other."

### **ASSAILS INFLATION OF 1920'S**

He assailed the "inflation" of the decade prior to 1929, declaring it was proven "that during that time there was little or no drop in the prices that the consumer had to pay, although those same figures proved that the cost of production fell very greatly; corporate profit resulting from this period was enormous, at the same time little of that profit was devoted to the reduction of prices.

"The consumer was forgotten, very little of it went into increased wages; the worker was forgotten, and by no means an adequate proportion was even paid out in dividends, the stockholder was forgotten."

Interrupted frequently by great applause, enabling him to drink from the water glass by his side, Roosevelt dealt in some detail with unemployment and agriculture. He favored a public works program, saying it should be of self-sustaining nature so far as possible and that to make the most of it definite steps should be taken to shorten the working day and the working week.

### **ADVOCATES REFORESTATION**

He advocated an immense reforestation program, saying "employment could be given a million men" that way.



Repeal was demanded of laws that "compel the federal government to go into the market to purchase, to sell, to speculate, in farm products, in a futile attempt to reduce farm surpluses."

"The practical way to help the farmer," he said, "is by an arrangement that will, in addition to lightening some of the impoverishing burdens from his back, do something towards the reduction of the surpluses of staple commodities, that hang on the market. It should be our aim to add to the world prices of staple products the amount of a reasonable tariff protection, giving agriculture the same protection that industry has today.

"And in exchange for this immediately increased return I am sure that the farmers of our nation would agree ultimately to such planning of **their production** as would reduce the surpluses and make it unnecessary in later years to depend on dumping those surpluses abroad in order to support domestic prices.

### WOULD BE GUIDED BY FARM GROUPS

"I believe that the Democratic party stands ready to be guided by whatever the responsible farm groups themselves agree on."

"Our Republican leaders tell us economic laws—sacred, inviolable, unchangeable—that these laws cause panics which no one could prevent," he said. "But while they prate of economic laws, men and women are starving. We must lay hold of the fact that economic laws are not made by nature. They are made by human beings.

"Yes, when, not if, we get the chance, the federal government will assume bold leadership in distress relief. For years Washington has alternated between putting its head in the sand and saying there is no large number of destitute people in our midst who need food and clothing and then saying the states should take care of them, if there are."

On tariff, he praised the platform promise of bringing about international conferences for adjustments in the interest of restoration of trade. He condemned the Smoot-Hawley schedules, saying "we have invited and received the retaliation of other nations."



### PLEDGES NEW DEAL

Swinging into a climatic finale that brought the thousands of his hearers to their feet, he said:

“Throughout the nation, men and women, forgotten in the political philosophy of the government of the last years look to us here for guidance and for more equitable opportunity to share in the distribution of national wealth.

“I pledge you—I pledge myself—to a new deal for the American people. Let us all here assembled constitute ourselves prophets of a new order of competence and of courage. This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people.”

### HISTORY HAD BEEN WRITTEN

And, as those closing words were uttered, to the stirring strains of that splendid song of the republic with which the convention had opened, “The Star Spangled Banner,” the tens of thousands melted away.

Real history had been made and written in that, the greatest of all political gatherings.

History that affected not only the Democracy of Illinois and of our nation, but history that has had and will continue to have its bearings on hundreds of millions of men and women and children—on generations, the world over, yet unborn!



## **MEMBERS OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY THAT LOOMED LARGER AS RESULT OF 1932 NATIONAL CONVENTION**

The closing chapter of the convention was written, so far as the Democracy of Illinois is concerned, in a farewell dinner given by Mayor Cermak, Saturday evening, July 2, 1932, to the delegates and alternates from his state, and to Illinois newspaper men, at the Chicago Athletic Association.

It was an enjoyable and enthusiastic affair at which plans for the campaign were discussed.

But it lacked the glamor of that Cermak dinner of six nights earlier, for then there was uncertainty, while now there was certainty, and it is to uncertainty that most of the charm and excitement of political gatherings pertains.

That convention made several figures in the Democracy of Illinois, some of them already large, loom larger.

There were so many of these that it is difficult to pick out the more outstanding, but any such list well might include:

Henry T. Rainey, of Carrollton, who, while not present at the convention, was to become speaker of the national house as a sequel thereto, and who was to lay down his great laurels, two years later.

Anton J. Cermak, whose fame till that time largely had been confined to his own state, but who now became a great national figure, and one so soon thereafter to pass into the shadows of immortality through the dire tragedy of Miami.

William H. Dieterich, who, while not on the program, impressed the thousands with whom he came in contact by his statesmanlike personality.

Henry Horner, whose charm of manner was brought closer home to the great throngs that met him.

Michael L. Igoe, whose brief but impressive addresses, first in support of the majority report of the committee on resolutions, and later in placing Melvin A. Traylor in nomination, added many to his already great volume of admirers.

Vincent Y. Dallman, of Springfield, whose unyielding and tireless fight for the nominee made him the recognized leader of the Roosevelt forces in the delegation.

Bruce A. Campbell, of Belleville, long a vital force among Illinois Democrats, who grew apace by his marked popularity with delegates and visitors from all parts.

Patrick A. Nash, present national committeeman, who, until then, largely had been but a name to many downstate members of his party, but who now learned to know him as a man of real and enduring quality.

Scott W. Lucas, of Havana, whose logical and clear-cut argument in behalf of seating the anti-Long delegation from Louisiana, drew the ire and fire of the famous Huey.

W. Emory Lancaster, of Quincy, whose presentation of the minority report of the committee on permanent organization, favoring Jonett Shouse for chairman, was one of the gems of the convention.

### THE VOTE ON SHOUSE

The vote on that report well may be regarded as the best test of Roosevelt sentiment in the Illinois delegation in the early stages of the convention.

Illinois delegates casting an aggregate of sixteen votes, but several of which were fractional, due to the fact that delegates at large had but a quarter of a vote apiece, in favor of the election of Senator Thomas Walsh, as permanent chairman, were:

Former Governor Edward F. Dunne, of Chicago.

Former Mayor Carter H. Harrison, of Chicago.

Vincent Y. Dallman, of Springfield.

James Hardie, of Carlinville.

Robert L. Kern, of Belleville, the talented son of one of Illinois' greatest Democratic editors.

Arthur Roe, of Maudslayi.

Willis J. Spaulding, of Springfield.

William M. Hairgrove, that fine and fiery old Democrat of Jacksonville, who has given much valuable information to the author of this history.

Truman Snell, of Carlinville.

Frank A. Ortman, of Pontiac.

Craig Van Meter, of Mattoon.

Joseph C. Faulstick, of Alton.

M. B. Welsh, of Blandinsville.

Peter J. Kolb, of Mount Carmel.

Chauncey S. Conger, of Carmi.

Riley Rankin, of Sparta.

### **BUT ALL VOTED FOR HIM LATER**

This was the Illinois vote for the Roosevelt candidate for permanent chairman, but in considering it, the reader should remember that the entire vote of the fifty-eight delegates of the Illinois Democracy, were cast for Roosevelt on the fourth and deciding ballot, and they have been with him ever since!



## **DISTINGUISHED DEMOCRATS WHO HAVE FILLED A VERY DISTINGUISHED POSITION**

That very keen-minded and well loved Democrat of central Illinois, the lamented Harry H. Devereaux, who was twice mayor of Springfield, once remarked:

“It seems to me that most reformers go on the theory that whatever political system is not in effect must be the better system.”

There is considerable truth to Harry's remark, as shown by the number of alleged reform measures that are advocated by enthusiasts who, apparently, overlook the fact that the systems that they are advocating had been in effect many years, perhaps, and had been discarded because they had been found wanting.

The oft-repeated arguments in favor of a short ballot may serve as an example:

How many of its present advocates realize that the shortest kind of a ballot prevailed in Illinois throughout its earlier years, and that all state officers except the governor and the lieutenant governor were filled by appointment by the state executive?

This “short ballot” system proved so unsatisfactory and became so decidedly unpopular, as putting too much power in the hands of one official, that, in response to clamor that came from all parts of the state, it was repealed.

All of which remarks are merely aside to calling attention to the fact that the office of presidential elector, once quite generally regarded as among the most important of positions, now has reached such lowly estate that, in the interest of a short ballot, they no longer even print the names of the candidates for that office; while, just now an attempt is being made to greatly change, or even abolish, the entire electoral college system.



Under such circumstances, it would seem that a history of Illinois Democracy well may include the names of the many distinguished Democrats who had served in the ancient and honorable position of presidential elector.

In perusing the list kindly remember that, in earlier years, all electors were chosen at large whereas, more recently they have been elected by districts except the four names at large, by virtue of Illinois having, in addition to its twenty-five members of the lower house, two United States senators, and two congressmen at large.

Here is the list since our admission to statehood until the present time:

1820—James B. Moore, Adolphus F. Hubbard and Michael Jones.

1824—William Harrison, Henry Eddy and Alexander P. Field.

1828—Richard M. Young, A. M. Houston and John Taylor.

1832—John C. Alexander, Adams Dunlap, Abner Flack, Daniel Stookey, James Evans and Thomas Ray.

1836—Samuel Hackelton, John Wyatt, John Pearson, Samuel Leach and John D. Whiteside.

1840—Adam W. Snyder, J. P. Walker, John A. McClernand, John W. Eldridge and James H. Ralston.

1844—A. W. Cavarly, John D. Wood, Willis Allen, Augustus C. French, William A. Richardson, John Dement, John Cahoun, Isaac N. Arnold and Norman H. Purple.

1848—Ferris Foreman, Cornelius Lansing, William Martin, Samuel S. Hays, H. M. Vandever, Madison E. Hollister, Lewis W. Ross, Julius Manning and William I. Ferguson.

Montgomery Sweeney acted in place of Vice Ross, who could not serve.

1852—David L. Gregg, Calvin A. Warren, John A. McClernand, Edward Omelveny, James Mahon, Kirby Benedict, E. P. Ferry, Ezra G. Sanger, Joseph Knox and John Calhoun.

1856—Augustus M. Herrington, Charles H. Constable, Merritt L. Joslyn, Hugh Maher, Milton T. Peters, Robert Holloway, John P. Richmond, Samuel W. Moulton, Orlando B. Ficklin, William A. J. Sparks and John A. Logan.

**POTTER PALMER AT HEAD**

The very famous "Potter Palmer" of Chicago, headed the Illinois electors who cast their ballots for Cleveland and Hendricks in 1892, the full list being:

**At Large**

Potter Palmer, Chicago; George P. Bunker, Chicago; Prince Albert Pearce, Carmi; Andrew J. O'Connor, LaSalle.

**Congressional Districts**

- 1—Rensselaer Stone, Chicago.
- 2—Frank Lawler, Chicago.
- 3—William G. Legner, Chicago.
- 4—Frederick H. Atwood, Chicago.
- 5—Frederick B. Townsend, Sycamore.
- 6—Elijah W. Blaisdell, Rockford.
- 7—Owen Lovejoy, Princeton.
- 8—Darius W. Cresey, Downers Grove.
- 9—Michael Cleary, Odell.
- 10—Meredith Walker, Canton.
- 11—John H. Hanley, Monmouth.
- 12—Mark Myerstein, White Hall.
- 13—Thompson W. McNeeley, Petersburg.
- 14—Thomas H. Stokes, Lincoln.
- 15—John Irvin, Tuscola.
- 16—Charles H. Martin, Lawrenceville.
- 17—David C. Enslow, McVey.
- 18—William R. Prickett, Edwardsville.
- 19—William V. Choisser, Harrisburg.
- 20—David W. Karraker, Jonesboro.

**BENNETT OF QUINCY**

Walter H. Bennett led the Illinois electors who voted for Cleveland and Stevenson in 1912, and who were:

**At Large**

Walter H. Bennett, Quincy; James C. Denvir, Chicago; L. O. Whithel, East St. Louis; and A. D. Gash, Chicago.

**Congressional Districts**

- 1—George Miller, Chicago.
- 2—Louis Levy, Chicago.
- 3—W. D. Robbins, Chicago Heights.
- 4—William Bauman, Chicago.
- 5—Leo L. Mrazek, Chicago.
- 6—John D. McGregor, Chicago.
- 7—Hans Blase, Chicago.
- 8—Frank W. Koraleski, Chicago.
- 9—John Minwegen, Chicago.
- 10—John Haderlein, Chicago.
- 11—William H. Clare, Joliet.
- 12—C. W. Faltz, Somonauk.
- 13—August W. Thode, Galena.
- 14—Charles J. Scofield, Carthage.
- 15—T. Ross Moore, Littleton.
- 16—Thomas Cahill, Ladd.
- 17—Clifford Quisenberry, Lincoln.
- 18—James W. Graham, Marshall.
- 19—John E. Andrew, Monticello.
- 20—John Schultz, Beardstown.
- 21—John H. Caldwell, Springfield.
- 22—Milton M. Sharp, Greenville.
- 23—Beverly W. Henry, Vandalia.
- 24—John W. Thomason, Louisville.
- 25—Miles Frederick Gilbert, Cairo.

**DEMOCRATIC ELECTORS OF 1932**

The list of Democratic presidential electors from Illinois, the Roosevelt-Garner ticket, in 1932, was headed by that well-known and popular Cook county leader, Martin Durkin.

The complete list was:

**At Large**

Martin Durkin, Chicago; W. H. Hollarick, Spring Valley; Mrs. W. S. Hefferan, Chicago; Alexander Wilson, Cairo.

**Congressional Districts**

- 1—George O'Connell, Chicago.
- 2—William Powers, Chicago.
- 3—Judge John J. Sullivan, Chicago.
- 4—Patrick McGuire, Chicago.
- 5—Moses Rosenburg, Chicago.
- 6—John A. Cervenka, Chicago.
- 7—Harry Kohl, Chicago.
- 8—James Ryan, Chicago.
- 9—Col. A. A. Sprague, Chicago.
- 10—Clarence N. Goodwin, Lake Forest.
- 11—John A. Logan, Elgin.
- 12—Walter K. Scherer, Ottawa.
- 13—William Steel, Dixon.
- 14—Marx M. Harder, Rock Island.
- 15—Robert F. Rennie, Canton.
- 16—Michael Fahy, Toluca.
- 17—C. S. Schneider, Paxton.
- 18—J. H. Elliot, Danville.
- 19—A. L. Yantis, Shelbyville.
- 20—A. D. Cullinane, Havana.
- 21—S. P. Preston, Gillespie.
- 22—Judge W. A. Trares, Edwardsville.
- 23—David L. Wright, Effingham.
- 24—Ben F. Wineland, Flora.
- 25—W. B. Johnson, Benton.









HENRY HORNER

## **HENRY HORNER LEADS DEMOCRACY OF ILLINOIS TO IMPRESSIVE VICTORY**

The campaign of 1932 is so recent that it may be classed as contemporaneous news, rather than history.

Some two months after the adjournment of the Chicago convention, candidates of both national and state tickets commenced extensive speaking tours.

Roosevelt spoke to huge throngs in Chicago and Springfield, while, everywhere his train halted, many hundreds awaited the opportunity to see and to hear him—if only for a few words.

Henry Horner, William H. Dieterich and the other nominees spoke in many cities, and made favorable impression on such voters as previously had not met them.

The closing downstate rally, at the Springfield state arsenal, was addressed by Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, Bruce A. Campbell, Michael L. Igoe and all the nominees.

Quite early in the campaign, indeed from the very start, it had been apparent that a smashing Democratic victory was in sight.

An eleventh-hour speaking trip of President Herbert Hoover was tried in a desperate effort to check the Democratic swing.

He followed Franklin Roosevelt at Springfield and other cities, but his effort to stop the inevitable was of little effect, although he succeeded in getting a larger vote than some of the state candidates, on the ticket with him, received.

### **JUDGE HORNER LED ALL**

Official tabulation of the vote of November 8, 1932, showed that Judge Henry Horner, for governor, had received the largest vote of any candidate, 1,930,330. He carried 73 of the 102 counties, for a plurality of 566,287.

The Roosevelt-Garner electional ticket carried 84 counties, but by an aggregate plurality less than that of the governor, 449,548 votes.

William H. Dieterich achieved a plurality of 198,625 votes by carrying 74 counties.

Other pluralities and number of counties carried were:

For lieutenant governor—Thomas F. Donovan, 242,132. Counties carried, 71.

For secretary of state—Edward J. Hughes, 59,148. Counties carried, 61.

For auditor of public accounts—Edward J. Barrett, 298,356. Counties carried, 70.

For state treasurer—John C. Martin, 128,728. Counties carried, 69.

For attorney general—Otto Kerner, 184,245. Counties carried, 67.

For clerk of supreme court—Adam F. Bloch, 182,609. Counties carried, 70.

For congressmen-at-large — Martin A. Brennan, of Bloomington, had a plurality of 254,043, and Walter Nesbit, of Belleville, one of 233,969.

Pluralities of the nominees of the Democratic party for trustees of the University of Illinois were:

Dr. Karl A. Meyer, Chicago, 399,918.

Mrs. Nellie D. Freeman, Mattoon, 264,139.

O. M. Karraker, Harrisburg, 237,499.

The Democracy of Illinois and of the nation had triumphed!

### DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN

Congressional nominees, either elected or re-elected were:

Edward A. Kelly, Chicago.

Harry P. Beam, Chicago.

Adolph J. Sabath, Chicago.

Thomas J. Bryan, Chicago.

Leonard W. Schuetz, Chicago.

Leo Kocialkowski, Chicago.

Chester Thompson, Rock Island.

J. LeRoy Adair, Quincy.

Frank Gillespie, Bloomington.

James A. Meeks, Danville.

Donald C. Dobbins, Champaign.

Henry T. Rainey, Carrollton.

J. Earl Major, Hillsboro.

Edwin M. Schaefer, Belleville.

William W. Arnold, Robinson.

Claude V. Parsons, Goleonda.

Kent E. Keller, Ava.

Perhaps, the most unusual incident in connection with the congressional election, was in the case of Edwin M. Schaefer, in the twenty-second district, who was named on the very eve of election, through the untimely death of Congressman Charles A. Karch, of East St. Louis, who again was the party nominee.

It was necessary to have hurriedly prepared stickers to get his name on the ballot.

Yet he won by 38,186 plurality, carrying all five counties.

Of those elected that November Tuesday, Henry T. Rainey was made speaker of the house, but died, in St. Louis, before the end of his term.

J. Earl Major resigned early in his term to become U. S. District Judge at Springfield, and his seat was left vacant until the general election of 1934, at which Harry H. Mason, popular editor of Pawnee, and who was serving as treasurer of Sangamon county, was elected.

At that same November, 1934 election, the talented Scott W. Lucas of Havana, was chosen successor to Henry T. Rainey, as member from the twentieth district.



## JUDICIAL ELECTIONS OF JUNE, 1933 WERE FIRST OPPORTUNITY FOR VERDICT

The June elections of 1933, for judges of the supreme and circuit courts, assumed added importance by virtue of the fact that it was the first opportunity given the voters of Illinois to pass judgment on the Roosevelt and Horner administrations.

Endorsement of those administrations was emphatically given.

Every Democratic nominee for the supreme bench was elected, including Elwyn R. Shaw, who had to overcome a normal Republican majority of great proportions.

The late distinguished Frederick R. De Young of Chicago, elected that year, had been a lifelong Republican, but chose to make the race on the Democratic ticket.

For the first time in many generations, the supreme judicial tribunal of Illinois now has a membership most of which is Democratic.

Personnel of the court now is:

First district—Paul Farthing, Belleville.

Second district—Norman L. Jones, Carrollton.

Third district—Lott R. Herrick, Farmer City.

Fourth district—Warren H. Orr, Rock Island.

Fifth district—Clyde E. Stone, Peoria.

Sixth district—Elwyn R. Shaw, Freeport.

The seventh district vacancy, caused by the untimely passing of Justice De Young, has not yet been filled.

Norman L. Jones is chief justice.

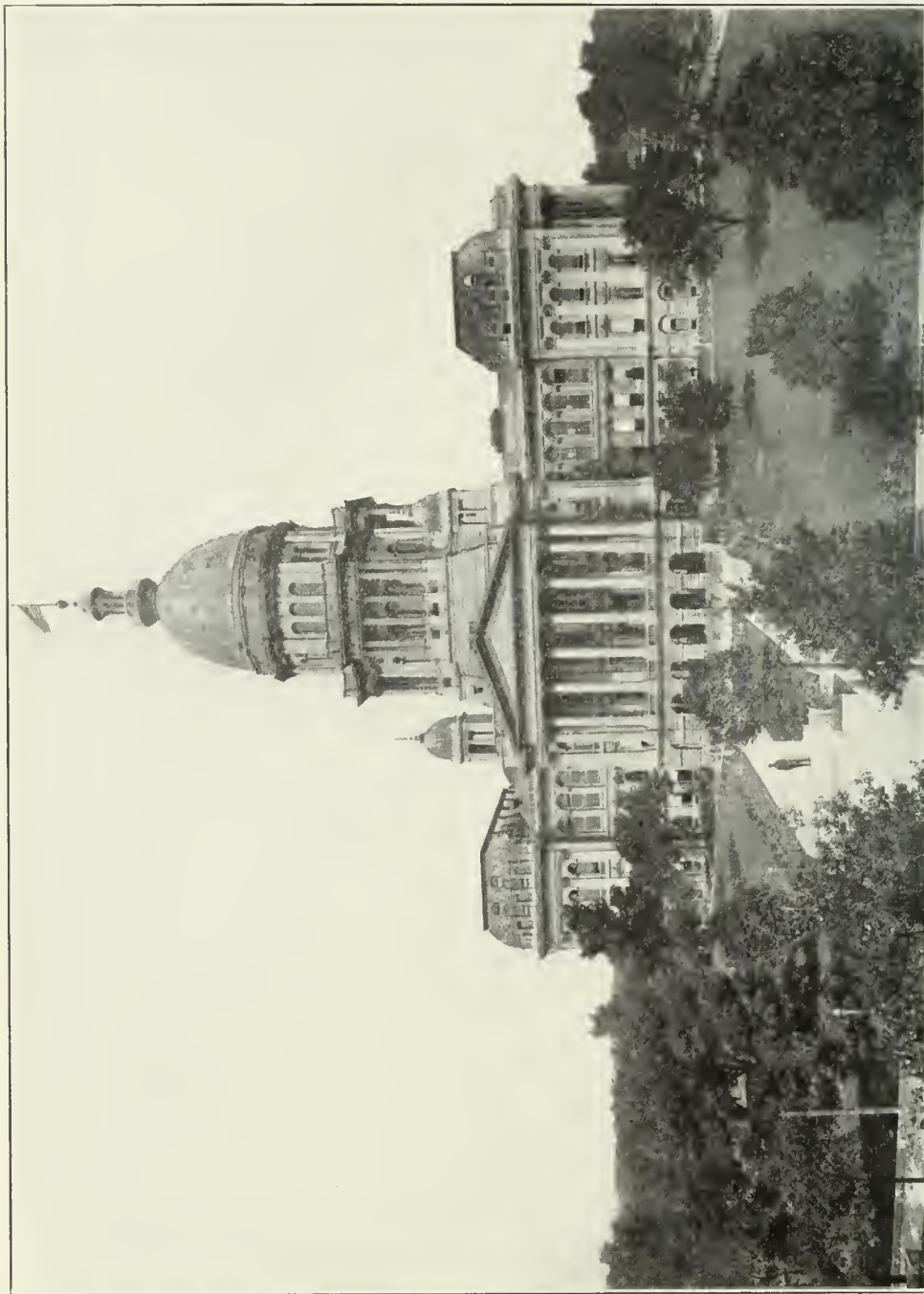
Justice Stone is the only Republican member of the court, and was a holdover in the last election, as was Justice Warren H. Orr.

In addition to the seven supreme justices, elected in 1933, nearly every Democratic nominee for circuit court judge was successful.









ILLINOIS CAPITOL BUILDING

## **COURAGE AND HUMANITARIANISM DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF PRESENT STATE ADMINISTRATION**

No man ever assumed the office of president of the United States—not even excepting Washington or Lincoln—confronted with more serious or more immediate difficulties than those that confronted Franklin Delano Roosevelt in March, 1933.

Millions on millions of unemployed were clamoring for the bare necessities of life for themselves and their families.

Private credit and, in some measure, public credit, were at extremely low ebb.

Bank after bank had failed, or was being kept alive by the pulmotor of federal funds.

In nearly every state, virtually every banking institution had closed its doors, or was getting ready so to do.

The moratorium declared by President Roosevelt and the many other measures taken by him at the beginning of his term, are too well-known to the reader of today to need elaboration.

### **TRUE ALSO IN ILLINOIS**

Hardly less difficult than the conditions which confronted Franklin Roosevelt, were those which Henry Horner had to face, as he and his fellow members of the Illinois Democracy, had been sworn into office, several weeks before the Roosevelt inauguration, on January 9, 1933.

Indeed, in several respects, the problems of Henry Horner, while, of course, less in volume, were more difficult even than those of the national executive.

Here in our own Illinois, a long succession of bank suspensions and bank failures had followed each other in rapid succession, for many months before the Horner administration took the reins of government.

Here, too, private and public credit were at low ebb.

Within the weeks immediately preceding inauguration day, the financial stringency had been emphasized by the failure of supposedly impregnable banks at Springfield, Quincy, Jacksonville and other centers of population.

In Illinois, the serious economic condition had been intensified by the failure of many large insurance companies, and by long-continued and, at times, bloody internal strife between rival coal miner organizations.

### **WITH CHARACTERISTIC FEARLESSNESS**

With characteristic fearlessness, Governor Horner promptly took steps in an effort to bring order out of chaos.

That he was not able to bring peace to the coal fields of Illinois, certainly was due to no fault of his.

But, by immediate and drastic steps, he was able to save the great insurance structure of Illinois, which meant so much to so many thousands of policy holders.

He was able, too, to save the credit of the state.

And, in his brave steps in these and other directions, he had the cordial support of the men who, on that same January day, had been sworn in with him.

The fine work of Edward J. Barrett, immediately after his induction and continued since, has saved millions of dollars to the bank depositors of Illinois.

### **DEATH OF GREAT MAYOR**

Very early in its term, the new Democratic administration sustained unusual and deep personal loss in the tragic passing of that really great mayor of our greatest city.

The victim of that terrible drama of Miami, Florida, in February, 1933, when Anton J. Cermak received the bullet that had been intended for Franklin Roosevelt, will live long in the hearts of the people of the state he had served so well.

The courage of the man, so often shown in life, never more clearly

was exemplified than in his brave and patient fearlessness in the face of death.

Other unusual incidents of the first half of the Horner term, have included the partial destruction of the state house by fire, on the very eve of the assembling of the state constitutional convention to vote repeal of the 18th amendment, and the total loss of its neighboring state arsenal, through the act of a delinquent boy.

### **COURAGE AND HUMAN BROTHERHOOD**

History correctly may be written only in retrospect.

There is merit in the contention of the British writer of history—the Irish writer, to be more correct!—Justin McCarthy the Elder, when he said that the true story of no administration well can be told until the end thereof.

The present Democratic administration of Illinois still has many months to run—probably many years!

But, when the final curtain is rung down, judging by what already has been accomplished, that administration will pass into history as one of the best and bravest and most humanitarian of any that Illinois ever had known.

Henry Horner never yet has sacrificed wise government to popular favor.

He knew that, judged by the standard of mere applause, the occupation, or sales tax, would prove unpopular with many—especially downstate.

But he also knew that the hungry had to be fed, and the naked clothed, and the homeless sheltered, so he put his every force back of that measure, regardless of what the political effect might be.

### **ANTIDOTE FOR INTOLERANCE**

But, perhaps, when the present or some future historian writes the full story of the administration of Henry Horner and of his associates, he will give first place to the fact that the wisdom and courage of that administration, coupled with the fine personal attributes of its members, went far to eradicate that inexcusable spirit of religious and racial intolerance, which should have had no place either in Illinois or in any other section of this great republic of ours.





## **VICTORY OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY MADE COMPLETE BY RETURNS OF NOVEMBER, 1934 ELECTION**

For its nominees in the 1934 campaign, the Illinois Democracy chose the following ticket:

For congressmen-at-large—Michael L. Igoe, Chicago, and Martin A. Brennan, Bloomington.

For state treasurer—John H. Stelle, McLeansboro.

For superintendent of public instruction—John A. Wieland, Calumet City.

Against these candidates, the Republicans enlisted some of their strongest available timber.

The hitherto unbeaten Francis G. Blair, was again named for the office in which he had come to be looked on as a “fixed institution,” having served as superintendent of public instruction continuously since January 10, 1907.

C. Wayland Brooks, of Chicago, and Milton Jones, of Williamsville, were the Republican nominees for congressmen-at-large.

For that same office, Walter Nesbit, of Belleville, former Democratic congressman, but who had been defeated in the April, 1934 primary election by Mr. Igoe, ran on the Progressive ticket.

While the vote downstate was quite close, the Democratic nominees swept Cook county and were victorious by pluralities above the 300,000 mark.

The victory of the Illinois Democracy thus was made complete.

For the first time since 1856, Democrats were in every elective state office.

This “unanimous condition” was far more pronounced than in the Altgeld and Dunne eras, for then the Republicans had succeeded in

holding on to a majority of the supreme court justices and a few other official places.

The Roosevelt and Horner administrations, endorsed in 1933, thus again had been endorsed in 1934.

### **REVERSING A GOOD STORY**

Following one of the many and quite frequent Republican land-slides of earlier years, "Uncle" Joseph G. Cannon, of Danville, standing in front of the Leland hotel in Springfield, had said to the writer of this history:

"Young man, the Democratic party is all right! It is one of the best organizations I know of, so long as it keeps out of politics."

The condition depicted by that "Joe" Cannon story was "in reverse" with the final touches of that November, 1934 election.

The Republican party now may be all right "so long as it keeps out of politics."

And that party seems out of politics for the time being, at least—so far as Illinois is concerned.

But the author of this history has seen his own Illinois Democracy buried so often and so deep, that he knows by experience that it never is safe to conclude that even a corpse will remain in that condition.

### **BRUCE CAMPBELL STATE CHAIRMAN**

That great leader of the downstate Democracy, Bruce A. Campbell, of Belleville, succeeded that other leader who so long had served his party, Thomas F. Donovan, of Joliet, as chairman of the state central committee, at the beginning of the 1934 campaign.

Daniel Sullivan, executive auditor to the governor, became secretary to the central body in succession to Edward P. Allen, of Quincy, who was made vice chairman.

Personnel of the committee, by congressional districts, is:

1—John J. Coughlin, Chicago.

2—Daniel Sullivan, Chicago.

3—David M. Hickey, Chicago.

- 4—Patrick G. McGuire, Chicago.
- 5—Leo J. Slaski, Chicago.
- 6—Richard M. Sullivan, Chicago.
- 7—Joseph F. Higgins, Chicago.
- 8—Stephen R. Carynski, Chicago.
- 9—Edmond L. Mulcahy, Chicago.
- 10—John P. Dougherty, Chicago.
- 11—Thomas F. Donovan, Joliet.
- 12—Dr. A. B. Culhane, Rockford.
- 13—Sherwood Dixon, Dixon.
- 14—J. W. Clendenin, Monmouth.
- 15—Edward P. Allen, Quincy.
- 16—J. Earl Houston, Peoria. (Since Deceased).
- 17—C. Everett Smith, Lincoln.
- 18—Norman Bennett, Marshall.
- 19—J. W. Yantis, Shelbyville.
- 20—Joseph E. Knight, Dow.
- 21—Harry B. Hershey, Taylorville.
- 22—Bruce A. Campbell, Belleville.
- 23—John Kasserman, Newton.
- 24—Ivan A. Elliot, Carmi.
- 25—A. M. Carter, Murphysboro.



## THE FINAL CHAPTER

And so, for the present at least, this humble historian lays aside his pen.

His has been an arduous task, and one that no man, nor set of men, could do without some errors—perhaps many of them!—creeping into the pages.

He knows—as he has known from the beginning—that there will be many and, perhaps, well-justified criticisms of his work, not only from the standpoint of commission, but of omission.

From this last mentioned standpoint, he pleads guilty in advance: for fully a hundred additional chapters of the brave story of the Illinois Democracy well might be written if space permitted.

Some, too, will be disposed to question the wisdom of giving so much attention, and at so many hours of research, to the conventions and personnel of that which we call “the Democratic state central committee.”

The author’s answer to these will be that all history has shown that no political party ever can be stronger, nor more enduring, than the organization back of it.

This especially is true of a political party that has had to know the long years of defeat that Illinois Democracy has had to know and endure.

Without the stamina and the patient courage of its successive state organizations, in years of emptiness, the Democracy of Illinois never could have continued on to reap the harvest of well-earned victory.

## AN EXPRESSION OF THANKS

Nor would this closing chapter be complete without expression of thanks to the many that have helped:

To that advisory board of distinguished members of the Illinois Democracy, the head of which board, Speaker Henry T. Rainey, of



Carrollton, and that other very helpful member, Judge Frank W. Burton, of Carlinville, were removed by death, long before the work was finished!

To the memory of "Mel" Traylor, whose cheering encouragement aided so much at its very inception!

To the United States senators from Illinois and to the many Illinois Democratic members of the lower house!

To members of the state administration!

To Mrs. George E. Brennan!

To Mayor Edward J. Kelly, of Chicago!

To Dallman and Slane and Kern and to so many other members of the press!

To Miss Ellen M. Rourke!

To members of the state central committee!

To so many chairmen of the county committees of the Illinois Democracy!

To Judge Lawrence B. Stringer, of Lincoln!

To Judge Lawrence E. Stone, of Springfield!

To William M. Hairgrove, of Jacksonville!

To these and to the numerous others who have aided by friendly counsel and cooperation—and in other ways—the author extends his lasting thanks!

And, whatever, or how numerous the faults of this history may be, it has, at least, been a labor of love!

### THE FUTURE OF ILLINOIS DEMOCRACY

We know what the decades that have passed have held for our party, but we may not know what the decades yet to come may hold.

It would be trite to write that "the future of the Illinois Democracy is in its own hands!"

But it would not be altogether true!

There need be little doubt that present Democratic holders of office in Illinois, whether it be of state, or county, or city, will administer public affairs in a manner to merit the approval of the people whose servants they are.

But history has shown, as pointed out in earlier chapter, that the success of Democratic tickets in Illinois always has depended on the success of the national tickets in carrying our state.

The immediate future of the Illinois Democracy therefore, more truthfully may be said to rest with that fine figure at Washington, that best-loved man in all the world, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

That he may succeed in the tremendous task to which he has consecrated himself is, the author believes, not only the hope and prayer of the Illinois Democracy, but of every thoughtful citizen, regardless of party, in all this vast nation, the destinies of which rest so largely on his shoulders!

### **ITS ETERNAL WATCHWORD**

But, whatever the future may hold in store for the Democracy of Illinois, this at least is certain:

It will meet whatever may befall in characteristic patience and wisdom.

For, in victory and in defeat, the face of the Democracy of Illinois ever has been toward the future—its watchwords “FAITH AND COURAGE.”



















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